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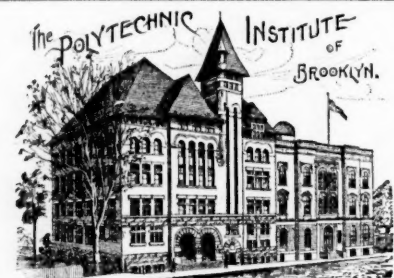
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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 2, 1891.

## The Week.

BARDSLEY, the embezzling City Treasurer of Philadelphia, made his promised confession on Wednesday week, but it threw little light on the Keystone Bank mystery. In fact, it was not a confession at all, but an attempt at justification, and ended in a curious appeal for public sympathy on the ground that, after twenty-five years of public service, he found himself penniless and disgraced and his family thrown destitute upon the charities of the world. He was overcome with emotion as he made this appeal, seeming to forget that he had shown only a few minutes before, by the elaborate account of his conduct in office, that for many years he had been deliberately and continuously violating his public trust, using the public money for his personal gain, speculating with it as if it were his own, and ending his career by confessing that he had embezzled vast sums of public money, standing at the bar a defaulter awaiting sentence of imprisonment. The important part of his testimony is that in which he seems to prove that the \$925,000 of State funds represented by due bills which he said he had deposited in the Keystone Bank, but of which there are no entries on the books of the bank, were actually put by him into the bank or into the hands of its President. What became of the money after it was put into the hands of the President remains to be shown. In other words, the mystery of what became of the vast sums of city and State money, something over \$2,000,000, which went into the Keystone Bank while Lucas and Marsh were its presidents, is as far from solution as ever.

Monday's revelations concerning Mr. Wanamaker's Keystone stock were the most serious for him that have yet been made. Howard Spencer Jones, Mr. Wanamaker's secretary, in whose name two certificates for 425 shares of fraudulent Keystone stock were issued, the first handed by Lucas to Wanamaker for use in raising funds for their joint Reading speculation, testified that he had been asked by Mr. Wanamaker to sign transfers of the stock, but that he did not know that the stock had been issued in his name. He testified also that W. Rankin, whose name appears on five of the certificates for 1,000 shares of genuine stock issued to John Wanamaker, was an office boy in Wanamaker's employ. Two bank presidents testified that they had made loans on some of the Keystone stock which had been issued to Wanamaker, thus showing that they regarded him as a stockholder. One of them said he had made three temporary loans of \$40,000 to Marsh, the fugitive President of the Keystone Bank, to help the bank over night, on

collaterals furnished by Marsh, who said the money was for Mr. Wanamaker, and that he had subsequently made loans direct to Mr. Wanamaker on the same collaterals. It also appeared, from the testimony of one of the presidents, that H. H. Yard, who is under two indictments for conspiracy with Bardsley for unlawful use of the public funds, had one of the Wanamaker certificates of Keystone stock at one time and used it as collateral upon which to raise money.

The position in which the investigation of the Keystone Bank affairs is placing the Administration is a very embarrassing one, and doubtless the President perceives it clearly. Even if the Postmaster-General has not been convicted of a guilty knowledge of the condition of the bank before its failure, enough has been proved against him to make it certain that the new House of Representatives will enter on an inquiry into the nature of his connection with the bank, with all the joy which the hunter feels on a fine morning at learning that the game is afoot. For this display of unseemly curiosity some preparation must be made, and what should it be? What can it be that does not involve some sort of annoyance or inconvenience for good Mr. Wanamaker? To part with him would doubtless be hard, but it would be one of the sorrows which Gen. Harrison must have foreseen as possible when he gave a place in the Cabinet to an obscure storekeeper, unknown in politics, as a reward for raising campaign money for Mr. Quay. The presumptions have all run against Wanamaker's honesty from the day it was known that he had been Quay's right-hand man in collecting election funds. For, that Wanamaker knew what kind of man Quay was, and knew what those Quay "secrets" were before which Republicans were "to stand dumb," is just as certain as that Wanamaker is a member of the Cabinet. Quay sold him his seat in the Cabinet with the President's sanction and connivance, and it is strictly in accordance with the moral order of the world that such a transaction should eventually bring disgrace on all concerned. Wanamaker has tried to break the force of the presumption against him by maintaining a Sunday-school, but the public is too familiar now with these *refugia peccatorum* to make such devices of any use.

When Bardsley resigned the office of City Treasurer of Philadelphia, the local officers were quick to assert their right to fill the place with a man of their choice. But Gov. Pattison held that the right to make the appointment lay with him, and he named a successor to Bardsley, and the courts sustained the appointment. As a matter of course, the Treasurer chosen by the Governor was selected for his fitness to bring order out of the existing chaos, to uncover his predecessor's thefts, and to man-

age the city's finances with an eye solely to the public interest. Now the thing which might have been anticipated has happened. We learn from the *Philadelphia Press* that Treasurer Wright has mortally offended the local Democratic "bosses" by selecting his assistants without consulting them. He has made his selections from the ranks of ex-Custom-house clerks and heads of bureaus who lost their places when a new Collector went into office. It is even asserted that one of the most important places under Treasurer Wright is filled by a man who is a resident of New Jersey, and whose only qualification is the good reputation he made in the Custom-house during President Cleveland's Administration. For all this the taxpayers of Philadelphia have reason to be profoundly thankful. Although that city is Republican, it contains, of course, a good many Democrats, and, equally of course, Democratic "bosses." What kind of men these "bosses" are was demonstrated at last fall's election. Quay depended largely on them to elect his candidate for Governor, and, so well did they carry out their bargain with him, that large blocks of Democratic votes were cast for Delamater in Philadelphia, and on this account it was believed in that city early in the evening of election day, before the country returns began to come in, that Quay had secured his vindication. If the city treasury, at this juncture, had been placed at the disposal of these treacherous politicians, Quay would have had his say in the matter as absolutely as if he had named the Treasurer himself. The value of these "bosses" friendship was so well tested last November that the Governor can now afford to laugh at their displeasure.

The peaceful and quiet way the Berling Sea quarrel is hastening to a conclusion is very creditable to both nations. With Mr. Fish, or Mr. Frelinghuysen, or Mr. Bayard, or Mr. Evarts in the State Department, this conclusion would undoubtedly have been reached two years ago, and we should have been saved much humiliation. Mr. Blaine's rumpus in this matter has had to be dropped by President Harrison, just as his Nicaraguan rumpus and his Peruvian rumpus had to be dropped by President Arthur. The "bonos mores," and the 100-mile limit, and the Russian rights, and the ocean game laws, have all been stowed away in our diplomatic garret, to be smiled over by future generations. How it was that President Harrison did not feel called on to interfere sooner, it is difficult to see. The common sense which has put an end to the rumpus now surely had a lodgment in the Presidential brain two years ago. We trust he will now apply some of it to the Chilian business. It will never do to let "Pat" Egan commit us to the support or countenance of the worst attack on republican government

yet made on this continent. We can, by a very little display of sympathy, hasten the restoration of the normal working of constitutional government in that country. Balmaceda's "Congress" has just authorized him to make a determined onslaught on private property, by levying \$12,000,000 on such rich men as he can get hold of within his jurisdiction, which looks as if he were getting near the end of his tether.

The threatened chaos in Connecticut, owing to the failure of the discordant Legislature to vote the supplies, seems to have been avoided in a way which has some novel, not to say serious, bearings on the subject of constitutional government. When the crisis was seen approaching some weeks ago, Comptroller Staub asked the legal opinion of Mr. William Hamersley of Hartford, a prominent lawyer of the State, who has acted as Democratic counsel through the legislative broil. That opinion has just been given *in extenso*, with the concurrence of ex-Judge Loomis, a Republican who lately retired, under the limitation of age, from the bench of the State Supreme Court. Both gentlemen, after laying much stress on the exceptional gravity of the situation, hold that the specific appropriation acts, while exceedingly strong in language and prohibitory in form, nevertheless do not apply if the regular appropriations have not been voted; and that consequently the State reverts to the condition of affairs under what are known locally as the "general" appropriation acts before the specific acts were passed in 1884. The two authorities agree that "the subject is full of difficulties, and perhaps no conclusion can be reached which may fairly be said to be free from doubt," but conclude, on the whole, that the Comptroller can go ahead paying what he considers "necessary" State expenses, as to which, however, they admit "it may be found difficult in practice to draw the line." This opinion, which the Comptroller will undoubtedly accept, keeps the State gear in running order, saves the Senate from passing supply bills to be sent to the "usurper" Bulkeley, and, incidentally, solves the problem which has met the same "usurper" of finding funds to run the State with. But in what a strange constitutional plight does it put a New England commonwealth.

The Iowa campaign this year, which was opened by the Democratic Convention last week, will be watched with interest throughout the country. For the first time since the origin of the Republican party, the Democrats enter the canvass in possession of the Governorship, and the whole party is enthusiastic in the renomination of the incumbent. For the first time, too, they take the aggressive in opening the canvass before the Republicans, and their Convention was by far the largest and most spirited they have ever held. Iowa has always been a Republican State in national elections, but the majority in Presidential years

has been steadily falling off. On State issues the Democrats have been gaining ground ever since the question of prohibition came to the front, and two years ago they elected their candidate for Governor on that issue. This year they push it again to the front, declaring for the repeal of the prohibitory law and the substitution of "a carefully guarded license-tax law," with a minimum impost of \$500, which may be increased by the municipality. As the coming election is for the choice of a Governor, other State officers, and a Legislature, and as the liquor question is the chief issue in State affairs, it ought to control the result. If such proves to be the case, the Democrats will carry the State, for there can be no doubt that a majority of the voters are opposed to the continuance of the prohibition policy. It was carried by less than 30,000 majority nine years ago, and has been losing strength ever since.

One feature of the mortgage business in such States as Kansas is not generally understood in the East. This is the fact that many mortgages have been contracted by men who only "squatted" upon the land long enough to get a loan, and then left to repeat the same process elsewhere. The Topeka *Capital* goes so far as to "venture the statement that there have not been 500 foreclosures against industrious farmers in Kansas in the last three years." The other day a number of foreclosures occurred in Cowley County, and it was shown that in not a single case was a farmer actually evicted thereby. Men had borrowed with the deliberate intention of abandoning the land. Of the sixty-eight farm mortgages released of record in Labette County in May last, the Register of Deeds states that not one was released by reason of foreclosure. There were forty-one foreclosures in Cloud County from January 1 to June 18, and these foreclosures, with scarcely an exception, and with actually no exception, the *Capital* believes, in the case of farms, were on farms and lots abandoned by the borrowers, who, having obtained all the land was worth, made no effort to pay the mortgages. In western Kansas the *Capital* declares that "in 99 per cent. of the foreclosures the land was abandoned directly after the loan was made, the borrower sought pastures new, and the loaner 'held the bag.'" The Topeka newspaper thinks that "great injury has been inflicted upon Kansas by such financiering, in which 'Wall Street' has been taken in by adventurers"; and, in view of such facts, it very properly holds that "the less said by the calamity organs about plutocrats who evict the down-trodden farmers of Kansas from their homes, the better for the State."

The city of Atlanta, Ga., has had an interesting experience with the liquor question. For some time there were lively contests over the question of prohibiting the traffic by law. Finally the majority of the people decided in favor of license, but under certain restrictions. No saloon can be main-

tained or opened on a residence-street, or in any locality outside the business portion of the city, which confines them to a narrow space in the centre of town, where they are under the strict surveillance of the police, thus minimizing all the possibilities of drunkenness and disorder. The saloons are open to public view, with no blinds, screens, or curtains. They pay a high license. They are compelled to close at ten o'clock at night. An attempt has recently been made to break over the rule as to residence sections by allowing beer saloons outside of the business limits, but the Mayor vetoed the proposition and the City Council, which had hastily endorsed it, has by a decided majority sustained him. The *Constitution* hopes that this will settle the matter for a long time to come.

There seems no longer any doubt that St. Paul and Minneapolis are to be practically united at no distant day. The street-railway systems of the two cities are in process of consolidation, and the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* declares that this "very clearly foreshadows the practical union of the two cities, the blending of their people together in a common business and social life." The St. Paul journal says truly that there never was any basis for ill feeling between the two cities except the accident of their physical separation, and consequently their physical conjunction will necessarily be their social and business union. Whether they are united under one city government or not it considers of little consequence, though it would seem inevitable. The rivalry between St. Paul and Minneapolis, humorous as its manifestations often were, has been growing rather tiresome and discreditable of late years, and the whole country will be glad to see them living harmoniously together as the metropolis of Minnesota.

The acquittal of the Directors of the New Haven Railroad on the indictment found some time ago, for allowing the cars to be heated by stoves, was doubtless what every one expected. To fix personal responsibility on them, in such a way as to convince a jury that they were morally, as well as legally, guilty of a misdemeanor, was a hopeless enterprise from the beginning. The result is, of course, a defeat for the District Attorney which has some mortification in it. But before censuring him for the attempt, it would be as well to ask what would have been said if he had not tried to put the law in motion. There is hardly a doubt that three-fourths of the press would have insinuated or alleged that there was no law for millionaires, and that this was a fair illustration of the way in which the public prosecutor crouched before capital. The trial has, however, brought out some defects in the law which should be remedied next winter. The statute should designate some officer or officers of a railroad as personally responsible for a failure of the corporation to obey the law. This would make him or



them keep a pretty sharp eye on the statute-book, but it must be admitted that there might be plenty of abuse in it. There is or was a statute of North Carolina which provided for the imprisonment without bail of the president of a railroad whenever a cow was killed on the track.

The erection of a statue to Henry Ward Beecher in Brooklyn is one of the fittest things the Brooklyn people have ever done. He was the greatest man the city has produced. It was from Brooklyn that his fame spread over the whole country, and in truth it was largely through his fame that Brooklyn became first known to the civilized world. He was, too, by far the most prominent orator of the civil war. No man's tongue did so much to support the operations of the army in the field, and no oratory of that struggle will probably live so long in men's memories. Even his clerical career was largely public property. His sermons were addressed to the whole nation rather than to his own congregation, and they were the first widely and eagerly read sermons issuing from a nominally orthodox pulpit which had little or no theology in them. What his creed was has, we believe, never been distinctly discovered, nor was any denomination ever able to make out a clear title to him. In short, no more remarkable figure has made his appearance in American religion or politics within the present century. The troubles which clouded the latter years of his life—and for which, in any view of the result, he must be held largely responsible—grew out of his qualities. He had the oratorical temperament in a degree rarely seen, and the oratorical temperament is never remarkable for judgment, or discretion, or moderation. But, unfortunate as these troubles were for his name, no community which had witnessed and profited by the lifelong labors and triumphs of such a man could let them cloud the memory of his best days, for these days were long and carried him very nearly to the end of his career.

Amherst College is just completing the thirtieth year of physical culture under the charge of Dr. Edward Hitchcock, who instituted the system of regular exercise as a part of the curriculum in 1861. The classes have thirty minutes' drill in marching and the use of dumb-bells four days in the week, and interest is stimulated not only by an accompaniment of lively music, but also by an annual prize to the class doing the best work, which was won this year by the Juniors. Careful records have been kept from the first, and they show that the regular exercise produces a perceptible improvement in health during the college course, the percentage of sickness among the Seniors during the last twenty-five years having been almost one-fourth less than among the Freshmen. Another interesting thing brought out by these statistics is the fact that students as a class are more vigorous young men now than a quarter of

a century ago. From 1861 to 1865 each student lost an average of 2.18 days during the college year on account of sickness, while from 1885 to 1889 the average was only 1.75 days—one-fifth less.

An interesting study has been made at Amherst of the effects of smoking upon the members of the graduating class. In this class 71 per cent. have increased in their physical measurements and tests during the four years, while 29 per cent. have remained stationary or fallen off. Separating the smokers from the non-smokers, it appears that those who do not use tobacco have gained 24 per cent. in weight more than the smokers, 37 per cent. more in height, and 42 per cent. more in chest-girth, while in lung capacity there is a difference of 8.36 cubic inches in favor of the non-smokers. These figures show the same tendency as those compiled by Dr. J. W. Seaver, the instructor in athletics at Yale, who found that the non-users of tobacco among the Seniors show a gain over the users of 20 per cent. in height, 25 per cent. in weight, and 66 per cent. in lung capacity. Dr. Seaver has kept statistics of this sort for eight years, and finds that they show an equally decided advantage for the non-smokers during the whole period. He notes the interesting fact that not only do all the candidates for the crews abstain from tobacco, but that only one man smokes among all the prominent athletes in the different fields of activity. This is a highly significant, though seldom considered, tendency of the passion for college athletics.

Parnell's reported expectation that his marriage with Mrs. O'Shea will qualify him to resume his leadership of the Irish party without opposition, is, if he really entertains it, another sign of his want of mental balance. If his relations with Mrs. O'Shea had been the only cause for his deposition, his marriage might possibly have enabled him to resume his old place; but, unfortunately for him, during the late row he produced an entirely new plan of action for the Irish party, in which all alliance with the English Liberals was repudiated, and home rule was to be won simply by denouncing the English connection in strong language. The number of the Irish politicians who would enter heartily into a movement of this sort must now be very small, even if it were started by a leader of unstained repute. But even if the whole party accepted it, it would soon cease to produce much effect or even excite much attention. Interest in Irish affairs has greatly declined in England, and although the Liberals hold on to home rule as part of their platform, if Mr. Gladstone were to disappear before the next election it would probably not occupy a very prominent place in the contest. Nor, if they won, would Mr. Gladstone's successor be very eager to draft a home-rule bill and face the responsibility of carrying it through Parliament. In fact, there is nothing which the Irish party needs so much from Mr. Parnell

just now as "silence, and very little of that," as the Irish policeman remarked. His power as a leader is gone, and if he lags on the stage, it must be as a mere agitator.

Servia, having temporarily solved her internal difficulties by the expulsion of ex-Queen Natalie, is now engaging the attention of European diplomacy by a Utopian attempt at establishing a Balkan confederation. M. Tricoupis, the former Greek Premier and present leader of the Opposition party, who recently visited Belgrade and was most cordially received by the Regents, has declared that the time has come for Greece and Servia to make common cause in Macedonia against Bulgaria; Gen. Ignatieff has followed M. Tricoupis in his pilgrimage to Belgrade, and Prince Nicholas of Montenegro will also be in the Servian capital before long. Of these three visits, that of Ignatieff alone has a well defined object. His imperial master is incensed at Bulgaria, whose ruler, Ferdinand of Coburg, relying on Austria's approval, dares to defy Russia, and he also looks with disfavor on Rumania, whose king is amenable to German influences. Hence Ignatieff's departure for Belgrade in his old rôle as chief apostle of Pan Slavism—as understood in St. Petersburg and Moscow—that is to say, of the spread of Russian power by whatever means. He pursues to-day, as President of the Slavic Charity Committee, the same policy which nearly twenty-five years ago procured for him, while Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, the sobriquet of "Menteur Pasha." This time he is to unite Servia, Montenegro, and Greece in a Balkan Confederation against Bulgaria and Rumania, and he finds a convenient support in the restless ambition of Tricoupis. As for Nicholas of Montenegro, he has had his eye on the throne of Servia ever since he married his daughter to the Pretender Kara-Georgevitch, and although his daughter is dead, his interest in the Servian succession survives, and he is said to be more than willing to reserve his second daughter for the youthful King Alexander.

While Servians and Montenegrins may join hands, at the behest of Russia, in opposing Bulgaria, they will meet with scant sympathy on the part of their fellow-Slavs. The Bosnians are content with the rule of Austria after the yoke of Turkey, and Croats and Slavonians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, and Rascians have learned to bear with Magyar chauvinism. Of all the Slavic populations of Austria which, sixty years ago, listened with patriotic fervor to the voice of Kollar, who so eloquently advocated the literary and political union of all Slavs, only a portion of the Czechs still look to Russia as the legitimate representative of the national cause. The Poles of Galicia are to-day the principal allies of the Liberal Germans in their struggle with Czech insolence, and the Poles of Russia, some of whose leaders after 1830 were willing to forget Russian barbarities and to join in the general cry for Slavic union, have all outlived their magnanimity and their Pan Slavist dreams.

**MR. WANAMAKER'S KEYSTONE STOCK.**

In the carefully prepared statement which he read before the Investigating Committee on June 8, Mr. Wanamaker said concerning his Keystone Bank stock:

"I have been a depositor only; never was an incorporator, officer, or director. I never owned a share of the stock. I held until recently twenty-five hundred and sixteen (2,516) shares as collateral, as hereinafter stated."

"Upon several occasions when I notified Mr. Lucas that under our agreement [for a joint speculation in Reading stock] money was needed, he brought me stock of the Keystone Bank, which he requested me to use in lieu of the money, as it was not convenient for him to furnish cash at the time. As a result, when he died I had in my possession 2,516 shares of the Keystone Bank, so received by me from him."

"I held this bank-stock subject to an adjustment of the account, and Mr. Marsh and Mrs. Lucas called on me in relation to it, but no settlement was made, though the former was very urgent. No intimation was ever given that the stock was irregularly issued until Mr. Marsh, shortly after the run on the bank in December last, called it in question and desired to have the stock returned to the bank. This I declined to do, first, because I had not obtained it from the bank, but from John C. Lucas individually as his private property; secondly, because I did not believe the stock in my possession was overissued, and no proofs were ever offered that such was the case; and thirdly, because I was by no means certain that if the stock was overissued, as alleged, my title against the bank would be in any way affected."

On his cross-examination, Mr. Wanamaker was asked when he received this stock from Lucas, and replied: "I received it from Lucas a long time previous to his death, at different times. Perhaps he would bring me 200 shares. He would say when I wanted to buy a thousand shares of stock, he would bring it. *I kept it in my pocket-book.*" And again, when asked if he was ever a stockholder: "Never. I had no business to have this stock had Mr. Lucas kept his agreement. He should have given me money, but he did not."

The Receiver of the Keystone Bank, Mr. Yard, took the witness-stand on June 24, and gave the story which the books of the bank tell about Mr. Wanamaker's connection with its stock. It is in conflict in many important respects with that of Mr. Wanamaker cited above. In the first place, the books show that he had held, in addition to the 2,516 shares of fraudulent stock handed to him by Lucas as collateral, certificates for 2,625 shares which had been issued to him directly. All the latter certificates were anterior to the Reading speculation of 1887, their dates running from March 3, 1886, to May 31, 1887.

In the second place, it appears from the books that only one of the 17 certificates for the 2,516 shares of fraudulent stock was issued to Lucas. This was dated January 19, 1882, more than five years anterior to the Reading speculation, and was for 200 shares of stock. The next one was also for 200 shares, was dated July 5, 1887, about the time of the speculation, but was not issued to Lucas, but to Howard Spencer Jones. Another one on the same date for 225 was also issued to Jones. Then on July 6 came two certificates, one for 241 shares and another for 200 shares, issued to Edward Irwin. Howard Spencer Jones was Mr.

Wanamaker's secretary, and Edward Irwin, we are informed, was an assistant in and afterwards the head of Mr. Wanamaker's credit department. How did it happen, if this was Lucas's stock, and he was giving it to Wanamaker as collateral for a loan to be used in a joint private speculation, that it was not issued in Lucas's name?

In the third place, only the certificates enumerated above as having been issued to Lucas, Jones, and Irwin, for an aggregate of 1,066 out of the total of 2,516 fraudulent shares, bear dates anterior to Lucas's death on August 18, 1888. Wanamaker said on his cross-examination, as quoted by us above, that he received the stock a "long time previous" to Lucas's death, yet the books show that between June 29, 1889, and December 3, 1890, no less than twelve certificates, for an aggregate of 1,150 shares, were issued to persons more or less intimately connected with Wanamaker in a business way, either as clerks in his own employ or that of his brokers. Some of these clerks, when put on the stand, profess almost entire ignorance of the transaction.

In the fourth place, it is shown by the testimony of his brokers that instead of keeping this stock in his pocket-book, as he said he did, Wanamaker handed it to his brokers to be used as collateral with which to raise money, and that it was used continuously for this purpose from the dates of its issue till about the last of February, 1891, or shortly before the failure of the bank. In February, Wanamaker began to gather it in, and sought to use it to obtain \$100,000 or more from Mrs. Lucas on his claim against Lucas's estate.

In the fifth place, it is shown by the testimony of Wanamaker's brokers that he did, in one instance at least, sign a power of attorney on a certificate for 625 shares of the 2,625 of the regular issue which he held prior to the Reading speculation, thus giving evidence that he was a stockholder of record and could transfer the stock. Yet he declared solemnly in his written statement, "I have been a depositor only. I never owned a share of the stock."

In a statement which he has since given out for publication in Washington, Mr. Wanamaker declares again that he "never owned a share of Keystone stock by purchase or gift"; that if the books of the bank were properly kept, they will show that he was never recorded as a stockholder, but that "it is possible if a bank could over-issue stock, it could do queer things in bookkeeping"; that in his testimony before the Committee he confined himself to the stock held by him in the Reading operation, which was the only stock he had interest in, and then only as collateral, and that the facts remain as he stated them. This does not cover all the points raised by the Receiver's revelations, or, in fact, meet the most serious of them at all, as will be apparent to any one who reads the full text of the Receiver's testimony.

There is nothing for Mr. Wanamaker to do but to take the stand and offer himself for fresh examination. He has admitted that

when he denied that he had sought to delay the appointment of a receiver of the bank, he forgot that he had sent two telegrams to the Comptroller advising delay, and he seems to have forgotten entirely, when he prepared his written statement for the Committee, that he had once been the holder of 2,625 shares of Keystone stock which he had used precisely as a stockholder would have used it. He forgot, also, that he did not keep the Lucas stock in his pocket-book, but used it as collateral for raising money. His memory must now be refreshed on these points, and his testimony will be of greater interest in consequence. He ought to have a chance to explain also how it happened that there was so much subterfuge resorted to by Lucas in issuing that fraudulent stock, and how it happened that he hit upon so many of Wanamaker's business employees as suitable persons for dummies in the bogus transaction. A public moralist ought to be very careful about the strict accuracy of his statements, and to avoid even the appearance of evil in his most intimate business transactions.

**"THE FUNDAMENTAL FALLACY"**

THE continued revelations concerning the affairs of the Keystone Bank of Philadelphia, coupled with the complete betrayal of the public by the local press of both parties, has at last impelled a large body of conscientious Republicans to print an address which appeared on Tuesday. They examine Quay's record and his "elaborate defence in the Senate," applying to it the test which dissolves it in thin air—namely, his failure to call the only witnesses competent to refute or confirm the charge that he robbed the State Treasury, Messrs. Cameron and Wayne MacVeagh. This failure converted his vindication in the Senate into so much twaddle, to which neither his colleagues, nor the public, nor his accusers paid any attention. The address touches also on the treatment of the Ballot Reform Act by the Legislature, under Quay's direction, and finally reaches "the recent robbery of the city and State Treasury by its dishonest guardian." On this the signers say:

"Not only must the citizens of Philadelphia suffer a tarnished name, a direct loss of a million dollars or upwards, while thousands of depositors lose their earnings through the failure of banks connected with the defalcation, but those untold and untraceable losses resulting from the shaken confidence in the community must also ensue."

"There is a fundamental fallacy in the theory of politics which has for years obtained in this State, and of which Mr. Quay has been the leading exponent. It is that public offices are spoils, the lawful property of the politicians who capture them and by whom they are dispensed in turn to their underlings as the prizes of war. But the truth is that these offices are a public trust, which should be held in stewardship by the politicians for the people."

"The disaster of a looted Treasury is explained by the fact that the step from this fallacy to the startling and bold appropriation of public funds to the private uses of public offices is a long one in appearance only, not in reality. That step has now been taken."

There then follows a solemn and emphatic appeal to the public conscience of the State, which certainly loses nothing from being



made in language of studied dignity and sobriety. The document is signed by a large body of Republicans who are prominent in the business and professional world, including twenty-two clergymen, which shows that the example of courage set by the Independents in the late canvass has not been thrown away.

There is hardly an expression in it we should wish to alter except one, and that is the reference to "the fundamental fallacy" of Quay's theory of politics. That fallacy is, that "public offices are the lawful property of the politicians who capture them." It is true that "the step from this fallacy to the startling and bold appropriation of the public funds to the private uses of public offices is a long one in appearance only, not in reality." It is also true that "this step has now been taken" in Pennsylvania with a vengeance.

But the fallacy is not really the "fundamental" one, as far as that State is concerned, of the Quay theory of politics. The fundamental fallacy is that the tariff, such as it is at any given period, must be defended at any cost and against all comers. It is this fallacy which not only maintains Quay in power, but has produced Quay and all his followers. It is this which has debauched and silenced the press, and has deadened the public conscience of the State during the past twenty years. Quay and Quayism are not novelties. They have been steadily growing under the public eye for fifteen years. Quay's character and methods were as well known in 1885 to all Pennsylvania politicians and to a large body of business men in Philadelphia as they are to-day. How have they been defended and covered up both by his henchmen and by the party generally? Simply and solely by denouncing those who sought to expose them as enemies of the tariff, and representing the exposure as an attempt of "British free-traders" to ruin American industry. This has been the strong tower of defence, the *tutissimum refugium*, of the whole gang who have been concerned in the looting of the Keystone Bank and of the Treasury. This was their answer to every warning or remonstrance touching their operations, no matter from what quarter it came, and Pennsylvania politics cannot be permanently purified until there is a general recognition of its absurdity.

There is, however, another fallacy which lies lower still, to which the roots of Quayism run down, and from which it draws a large part of its sap and vitality. To mention it in Pennsylvania is, however, to discredit one's authority on all subjects as effectively as the authority of a philosopher would have been discredited in the Middle Ages by a denial of the existence of witches. But the truth must be spoken, nevertheless, even if here and there, and now and then, it produces a little nausea. This particular truth, too, is not so much an economic as a political truth. It affirms nothing as to the value of a tariff in building up industries or accumulating wealth. There is nothing in it inconsistent with the Pennsylvania industrial gospel.

What it affirms is simply that you cannot, in a country of universal suffrage, have pure politics as long as prices are raised and lowered by legislation at every session of the Legislature. This system would eventually corrupt a community of angels. As long as the business man looks to Congress to provide a good market for his goods, he will inevitably invest money in the high-tariff party, just as he would invest in a mill or in a coal mine, and he will give the money to the man who, he thinks, will put it where "it will do most good." That man will always be a Quay, and nothing but a Quay. The Quay will have under him a swarm of Delamaters, Wanamakers, Bardsleys, and Marshes to do his bidding, and blow his trumpet, and defend his methods. Politics, in short, will, under such conditions, inevitably become "business" in the very lowest sense of that term. The party having won the Government by promising to enable everybody who gave money for the canvass to make a handsome profit on what they gave, the underlings who gave not money but work, will claim the salaries of the public offices as *their* reward, and they will get them. They will not listen to the "trust" doctrine from people who openly acknowledge that they themselves are in politics mainly and solely to increase their own incomes. And gradually the whole machinery of government will come to be looked on simply as the machinery of a mill is looked on, as investment of capital to be returned with interest, profit, and something for superintendence and wear and tear. Everything will be considered marketable and divisible among the stockholders—treasury funds, offices, contracts, pensions, subsidies; and the work of the Quays will be mainly the work of deciding who got in on "the ground floor" and who on upper stories.

It is from this view of the province of legislation that the first step to treasury-looting is taken. The spoils view of offices is simply the second step. The looters are always members of the new "historical school" of political economy. They all hold to the paternal theory of government, and think the State cannot do too much for all its inhabitants, and especially for those of them who keep the keys of the public safe. No high or noble view of politics can long survive the practice of annually estimating what effect your vote will have on your bank account. The great capitalist takes a little longer to succumb to it than the poor laborer whose vote he purchases, but he succumbs in the end, and hires a Quay to manage the political department of his business. The newspapers, too, speedily catch the contagion. There must be something for them in politics as well as for everybody else, and the manna reaches them most palatably in the form of "ads." For "ads" they denounce the "British free-trader"; for "ads" they certify to the honesty of all the able rogues and the truthfulness of all the useful liars, and for "ads" draw the veil of silence over

the unfortunate ones who are found out. It is all "business."

If the Philadelphia reformers will look a little more deeply into the matter, they will find, we warrant, that this is a fair description of the situation. Their fallacy is not the fundamental fallacy. They have not reached the lowest depth. If they will dive down a little, they will come on what is the cancer of popular government.

#### THE PRECURSORS OF PEPPER.

MR. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, soon after the Greenback craze of 1874, made in the *North American Review* a most interesting collection of opinions on currency questions uttered by various members of Congress during the debates on the Inflation Bill vetoed by President Grant. Put together in this way in brief compass, they made a comic article of extraordinary drollery, not very unlike the schoolboy answers to questions on various topics which Mark Twain published a few years ago. Nothing could surpass their amusing absurdity.

The greenback movement was virtually killed by the veto, and its oddities passed out of the public mind. But the silver movement which arose in 1876, on the discovery that silver had become cheaper than gold, and that it might be advantageous to pay outstanding debts in it if it could be made a legal tender, speedily proved fully as rich a contribution to the gaiety of nations. The assertion that silver had been secretly demonetized in 1873, by a conspiracy of the goldbugs, which was seriously put forward, even by Mr. Kelley, the Chairman of the Committee which had reported and supported the demonetization bill, was in itself a joke of huge proportions. The bill was before Congress from April, 1870, until February, 1873, during which period action of some kind was taken on it, in one house or the other, nineteen times. Its enactment was in fact one of the most public proceedings which have ever taken place in Congress. Why, then, did it not attract more attention at the time? Simply because in 1873 coinage was still considered a quasi-scientific question, to be settled by experts, and the opinion of some thirty experts was taken on the bill. Mr. Kelley, in reporting it, admitted this when he said (June 9, 1872):

"It is impossible to retain the double standard. The values of gold and silver continually fluctuate. You cannot determine this year what will be the relative values of gold and silver next year. They were 15 to 1 a short time ago. They are 16 to 1 now."

When, three years later, silver having fallen heavily in value, it was found out that it might be made to furnish "cheap money for the poor man," and also for the farmer to pay off the rascally mortgagees who had lent him gold, there occurred the most extraordinary episode in the history of American demagoguery—a history which somebody ought to write. Mr. Kelley and several members of his Committee, and a large number of the majority who passed the bill, actually took the stump to denounce its passage as a

fraud on the American people, secretly accomplished. It was intended to rob them of a beloved kind of money left them by their deceased fathers as a precious legacy, to say nothing of its having been, as Mr. Kelley pointed out in a lecture, the money of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and used by the Patriarchs in the purchase of burying-places and other real estate.

What this meant was that the currency had got into politics, and its effect on the politicians was very like the effect of the entrance of Satan on the Gadarene swine. They fell over each other in their eagerness to invent new forms of absurdity and tomfoolery about the precious metals. No place was too steep for them to rush down. Republicans of all degrees of party standing vied with each other in the concoction of puerilities about the place of their favorite metal in civilized society. They became the precursors and indeed the producers of the Simpsons and Peffers. We are all laughing over Peffer's absurdities now, but where did Peffer get them? Why, he got them from Republicans like Blaine, and Allison, and Ingalls, and Kelley, and Matthews. Mr. Matthews denounced "the blindness of the conspiracy which had sought to exalt gold as the god and king of money." The present Senator Allison made the following amusing statement, for a man pretending to be an economist:

"Who does not believe that if it [silver] is made a legal-tender, or rather if silver dollars be coined, these colored people [the negroes of the South], like the people of China and the East Indies, will hoard this money in considerable sums, so that we shall be able to go on coining at the rate of \$30,000,000 per annum for many years to come without disturbing the relative value between gold and silver?" (*Globe*, vol. 136, p. 175.)

This suggestion that the negroes would save us from silver inflation and keep the two precious metals at par, by hoarding, owes its ridiculousness, as Prof. Laughlin, to whom we are indebted for the quotation, points out, in large part to the failure to explain how the negroes were to get hold of the silver when they wanted to hoard it, having little or nothing to give in exchange for the \$30,000,000 a year which they were to hoard. But the assumption, absurd as it is, contains the seed of the Peffer doctrine which is now ravaging the South and West, that if plenty of silver dollars are coined, they will find their way into the farmer's pockets without his having to pay for them in goods; that is, that the owners of the silver will let people have some of the coined dollars for nothing. Mr. Allison confined his proposition evidently to colored men. It was only Chinamen, Hindus, and negroes who were to seize the silver and hoard it. But Peffer very naturally says that not "niggers" only, but white men, will take a hand in helping the free-coinage policy, by pocketing the dollars or burying them in the earth.

Mr. Blaine was very diverting on this same point. Denouncing the policy of coining the old trade-dollar of 420 grains of silver for use in the Oriental trade, while demonetizing our own old dollar of 412 grains, this statesman remarked:

"It will read strangely in history that the weightier and more valuable of these dollars

is made for an ignorant class of heathen laborers in China and India, and that the lighter and less valuable is made for the intelligent and educated laboring man who is a citizen of the United States." (*Globe*, vol. 186, p. 822.)

This contains the seeds of the Peffer doctrine, that money is not so much a medium of exchange as a commodity useful in itself which it is well to have in the house, like pie or a rocking-chair, and not a thing to be parted with for something else; so that the manufacture of it in any quantity, however great, is a blessing. It contains, too, the suggestion that the ignorant heathen laborer would get the big dollar for nothing, while the light small one would be bestowed, also for nothing, on our own educated and intelligent laboring men, which, of course, would be grossly unfair. In a gratuitous distribution of dollars, our own citizens ought to be preferred. Senator Ingalls, as might have been expected, contributed a mighty virile generalization to the discussion when he said:

"Gold is the money of monarchs. Kings covet it; the exchanges of nations are effected by it. Its tendency is to accumulate in vast masses in commercial centres, and to move from kingdom to kingdom so as to unsettle values and disturb the finances of the world." (*Globe*, vol. 187, p. 1052.)

But the best point of all for silver was made by the late Senator Howe, who perhaps would hardly be worth quoting but for the fact that we thought so much of him as an authority that we actually sent him as a delegate to the International Monetary Conference in Paris, to meet the foremost currency experts of Europe. See how easily he disposes of the famous "Gresham's Law":

"But we are told the cheaper metal will drive out the dearer, and gold will be banished from our circulation. Silver will not drive out anything. Silver is not aggressive; it is so much like the Apostle's description of wisdom that it is first pure, then peaceable, then gentle. . . . Put a silver and a gold dollar in the same purse and they will lie quietly together." (*Globe*, vol. 186, p. 765.)

We might fill a volume with humorous exposition of the same sort. The above are abundantly sufficient to show that if Peffer be foolish, he is not original. All these Kansas heresies which are frightening the Republican party from its propriety are the concoctions of Republican leaders when engaged in the folly of trying to keep up the price of silver in 1878, on a falling market, by imposing it as a legal tender on the American people.

#### THE STRIKING FEVER.

THE strike of the butchers, bakers, and grocers in Paris, without any defined object, is a good illustration of the contagiousness of the striking state of mind. Managers of railroads and some other large establishments which have great staying powers, recognized this long ago, and many or most of them, therefore, make it a cardinal rule of their business never to yield to a strike, whether it be reasonable or unreasonable, because, they say, to yield to one is to invite a series of others in rapid succession. The London Dock Companies have had a melancholy experience of the soundness of this rule from a business point of view. They yielded, under pressure from philanthropists and clergymen, to a strike got up

by a body of laborers not regularly employed by them, but absolutely necessary to them now and then on pressing occasions, and agreed to pay wages which they really could not afford. This was two years ago, and they have never since had a week's peace. The laborers, having discovered, as they thought, their power over the companies, speedily broke loose from the control of the outside agitators who managed the first strike, and struck every day or two against the application of the commonest and most essential rules of order and discipline, and have come near achieving the ruin of the port of London. Things have grown quieter lately, but the loss has been enormous and the experience bitter.

In Paris there was apparently a very reasonable strike the other day of the omnibus-drivers against long hours and small pay. The companies resisted for a while, and could undoubtedly have filled the strikers' places, but they were prevented by mob violence from moving their vehicles. The police were overpowered, and the Government, under the influence of the obloquy excited by the use of the army in suppressing a strikers' riot at Fourmies a short time ago, was afraid to call out the troops to clear the streets, and the companies surrendered. What the men asked for was undoubtedly fair enough. The Parisian public has no good claim to the service of any human being on an omnibus box for fifteen hours a day, and no corporation ought to undertake to provide such service.

But unfortunately there is little likelihood that the surrender has ended the trouble. In fact, judging from American and English experience, these troubles are only beginning. The drivers will probably soon strike again, either for further shortening of their hours, or further additions to their wages, or to procure the dismissal of some obnoxious person or persons from the company's employment. In other words, the companies will probably find that the strike has sensibly diminished their control of their property. The effect on the other trades is already visible. The bakers, butchers, and grocers have all struck, not through sympathy, but contagion. The French dearly love a "manifestation"—that is, a march through the streets as an expression of some sort of discontent—and this manifestation was probably intended, like "the general strike" which used to be proposed here, to show the community its dependence on a particular class of service, and bring it to its knees before the manual laborers. The threat of the Government to put soldiers into the bakery, butchery, and grocery business to supply the places of the strikers for the moment, gives an additional touch of comedy to the crisis, and an idea of what a funny place the world will be when Labor gets "on top," as many philanthropists assure us it will be before long, although they never tell us how much room exactly there is "on top" for permanent residents.

It is this inability of labor organizations, as at present managed, to bear success, that does most to prevent their usefulness to the



laboring class. When a strike succeeds, the effect either on the leaders or on the rank and file is very like the effect on many an industrious man of a lucky turn on the Stock Exchange or at a gambling-table. Drudgery and slow gains at once become intolerable to them. They cannot bear to go on obeying orders and keeping regular hours, in the old humdrum fashion. They want to make the bosses and the foremen "stand round" and mend their manners, and, if nothing else, to infuse a little excitement or variety into their own lives. We passed through this phase of "the labor problem," through which France and England are now passing, in this country five years ago. Up to 1886 the presumption always was that a strike against a corporation was reasonable, and that there was a certain justice in the stoning or clubbing of "scabs," and that strikers were entitled to as much rioting facilities in the streets as their occasions might require. But this state of things was speedily changed by the excesses of the strikers. The strikes were badly managed. They occurred so often, and were attended with so much clubbing and stoning and interruption of public traffic, that the community had in self-defence to turn the presumption against strikes, and relieve the "scabs" from their dolorous liability to have their heads broken. So it will be by and by in Europe. The social bond is too strong for any one class to break it.

There are various signs that Labor itself is waking up to the discomfort of trying to be "on top." The last report of the Michigan Board of Labor Statistics contains 1,212 answers to the question, "Has your labor organization been of any financial benefit to you?" Sixty-four per cent. said "Yes;" but thirty-five per cent. said "No." To the question, "Has your labor organization been of any other benefit to you than financially?" 1,125 answers were received. Forty-one per cent. said "Yes," but fifty-nine per cent. said "No."

A similar inquiry by the Wisconsin Labor Bureau some time ago showed the same frame of mind. A number of machinists, printers, carpenters, etc., were asked their opinion of the value of trade unions. Barely half unhesitatingly endorsed the union system, while a full quarter were outspoken against it, and the other quarter qualified their approval of the principle by saying that "they are good if properly organized and managed," or that "they are good if not carried to excess," or that "they are just what we need, provided they are carried on upon good principles." It would probably be found, on more minute inquiry, that the failure to benefit was in the great majority of the cases due to bad management.

#### IRISH LEGISLATION AT WESTMINSTER.

DUBLIN, June 9, 1891.

BALFOUR'S Land Bill has now been practically passed, the committee stage having been completed. It was described by John Morley as the worst land bill ever introduced into Parliament. That remark applies to the de-

tails, not to the principle of the measure, upon which a majority of both parties are in accord. It is another example of the British legislation which we resent so much.

The bill is prepared on the instructions of Balfour, a strong and determined man, but totally ignorant of Ireland, and imbued with contempt, which he takes little trouble to conceal, for the Irish. The information necessary to the construction of the measure is derived from "the Castle," i. e., from Anglo-Irish officials entirely devoid of sympathy with the Irish people. In Parliament three-fourths of the members know little and care less about the measure; English members who engage in the debate do so from a party standpoint, more anxious to embarrass their adversaries than to pass a good law. The arguments of Irishmen are addressed to empty benches; the Committee, as Tim Healy remarked, are in the smoke-room, not in the House. The Irish Conservatives dare not vote against a Government measure, or any of its clauses, but, to satisfy their constituents, they occasionally abstain from voting.

I attended the debates on some of the more important clauses. Balfour and the Irish Attorney-General sat for the most part alone on the Treasury Bench. It was evidently impossible for them to accept the most reasonable amendments, urged both by argument and entreaty, by the Irish Nationalists, without having entirely to recast their bill. The few Irish Conservatives who took part in the debate said in substance, We object to these provisions, but we won't vote against the bill if you insist on them. The division bell rang, and the English majority, who had either not listened to the debate or were impervious to argument, hurried from all parts of the House to register the Chief Secretary's decisions. Irish members in vain pointed out that mistakes in English acts were easily remedied by amending measures, while it was hopeless to expect even a hearing for amending bills brought in by Irish members.

The bill provides a sum of £30,000,000 to be loaned to tenant farmers for the purchase of their landlords' estates. As guarantees against loss, grants from the imperial revenue in aid of local taxation for education and maintenance of the poor may be withheld from Ireland; the Lord Lieutenant may order special taxes to be levied; he may also require for a series of years that the borrowers shall pay an annuity on their loans in excess of the normal annuity of 4 per cent. Without reference to the capital value of a farm, or the price at which the landlord is willing to sell, every purchaser is obliged to pay for five years an annuity equal to 80 per cent. of his legal and often nominal rent. Large classes of farms are excluded from the benefits of the act, so that few landlords will be able to dispose of their entire estates.

On the whole, the bill offers less inducement than the existing law to landlords to sell or to tenants to buy. It imposes taxation on rate-payers who derive no benefit from the act; it makes these unwillingly guaranteeing rate-payers liable to pay the debts of borrowers who may under certain circumstances hold their lands without payment. It encourages tenants to borrow and buy, by providing possibilities of their escaping repayment. Though the bill is of moderate length, the multitude and complexity of the guarantees are such that some English members declared that the effort to comprehend their action and effect had almost reduced them to idiocy; and this complexity, involving a vast amount of book-keeping, will be a serious difficulty in administration. As an example of British legisla-

tion, the bill is no worse than the Liberal Land Law of 1881; that was passed in defiance of Irish opinion. Amending measures were year after year rejected by the House of Commons with contempt, and some of its most manifest defects were not corrected until 1889. Balfour's present bill furnishes another argument in favor of Irish autonomy, drawn as it is on the principle that, though the British taxpayer is to run no risk in the transaction, British members are to prescribe the terms and conditions of the purchase of Irish landlords' estates by the tenants with the Irish taxpayers' money. Under the Purchase Act that has been operating since 1885 £8,500,000 have been allotted among 20,500 farmers to enable them to buy their farms. For the last three years the rate at which landlords and tenants have agreed upon terms of sale has reached about £2,000,000 a year, and it does not seem likely that more than this amount will be required annually, as the new act is less favorable to both buyers and sellers than the former one.

Balfour's other Irish legislation during this session has consisted wholly of acts for the relief of distress. \$1,000,000 were granted for the construction of light railways, and \$500,000 for relief works in the shape of roads, harbors, and drainage. Loans of public money free of interest for two years were granted to the boards of poor law guardians for the purchase of seed potatoes, the partial failure of that crop last year having caused one of the periodical scares on the subject of this precarious crop. The result of this latter measure was that the price of potatoes rose to \$45 a ton for a short time, and considerable quantities were bought under the act at prices so high that, if next season is one of ordinary yield and prices, the value of the entire product will scarcely amount to that of the seed. The construction of railways which can only be worked at a loss, is a matter of very doubtful policy, even though the locality benefited pays no interest for the capital outlay. Several light railways have already been built by means of public loans at low interest, guaranteed by mortgage of the local rates, in districts of greater promise than those now being opened up; and in scarcely any instance has a railway earned sufficient to pay interest on its cost. The increased taxation in the districts liable has made these railways very unpopular, more especially as the rates are pledged by the county grand juries—non-elected and non-representative bodies. Irish business has, as usual, taken up an amount of time quite disproportionate to its importance in the Imperial Parliament, and no advance whatever has been made towards settling the Irish question.

From the preliminary report of the census, which has been brought out within two months of the enumeration, Ireland does not appear to have prospered during the last decade, so far as prosperity is indicated by population. The natural increase in the number of inhabitants, arrived at by subtracting 579,779 deaths from 1,147,432 births during the period, would have been 567,653; but the absolute decrease is 468,674. This diminution of 9.1 per cent. is double that of the period 1871-'81, when it was only 4.4 per cent., and is accounted for by the emigration of 768,105 persons. Previous inquiries have shown that two-thirds of the emigrants are persons between the ages of twenty and forty-five; and there can be no doubt that the wholesale departure of the young and vigorous leaves the remaining population with an undue proportion of infirm and aged persons. The natural increase of population is very small, and, as the two last enumerations have shown, early marriages are excessively rare, and the Irish birth-rate is abnormally

low when compared with that of England and other European countries.

No single detail of the census indicates any advance in prosperity. Dublin and Belfast, as is natural, and three smaller towns, have increased their populations; all other provincial towns show a decrease. Inhabited houses have diminished by 4.5 per cent., and uninhabited houses have increased 13 per cent. Since the enumeration in 1841, the total population of the island has diminished from eight and one-quarter millions to less than four and three-quarter millions, and still emigration is put forward every year in Parliament as the most desirable of all remedies. A continuance of the present decennial rate of diminution would leave Ireland uninhabited before the end of the next century.

AN IRISHMAN.

#### THE CORINTH CANAL.

ATHENS, June 2, 1891.

AFTER visiting the field of Marathon and most of the celebrated ancient places and things in the vicinity of Athens, I decided to make a personal inspection of the greatest of the works of modern Greece. I was the more moved thereto since I could find nobody in Athens who had seen the Corinth Canal except from the summit of a high railway bridge which crosses it. I afterwards found one person, a lady, who had walked through it, at considerable risk of being dumped and carried off as refuse material, in manner as will be explained hereafter.

When I expressed to the *portier* of the hotel my desire to visit the Corinth Canal, he said that the most convenient railway station was Kalamoki. This is the ancient port of Schoenus, on the Saronic Gulf, and is very near the site of the old Isthmian games, traces of the Stadium and of the Sanctuary wall being still visible. The *portier* advised me to take my luncheon with me, as I should not be able to procure any there. I said that I would go to Corinth for my luncheon. He replied that I would find things worse at Corinth than at Kalamoki. This was a surprise to me, as I had expected to see a flourishing modern town with several good hotels there. In fact, there are only a few hovels and not even an inn at the place where Timoleon was born, and where Alexander the Great was invested with the command of the Greek expedition against Persia. There is nothing left of ancient Corinth but seven dilapidated Doric columns, an amphitheatre of late Roman construction, and the citadel or Acro-Corinthus.

It is two and a half hours by rail from Athens to Kalamoki. The road passes through a beautiful country so full of historic interest that one is bewildered at every turn. The first considerable station is Eleusis. I observed that the conductor in calling out the name put the accent on the first syllable. The next station of importance is Megara. Great room here for the learned, but I shall restrict myself to what I saw with my own eyes, going and returning, for the train made a considerable stop here each way. I saw the Grecian process of gathering the wheat harvest. In front of the railroad station—i.e., between it and the Strait of Salamis—are the Megarean threshing-grounds, consisting of several acres. Here the labor of threshing and winnowing was going on, fifty to one hundred men and as many horses being briskly at work. The wheat was cut with the sickle, a handful at a time, mostly by women. It was then put together in bundles by men and loaded on the backs of donkeys. These carried it to the threshing grounds, where it was arranged in circles to be trodden out by the hoofs of horses, after which the straw was

removed and the grain tossed in the air by means of long-handled shovels until the wind had entirely separated the chaff from the wheat. This happened to be a windy day, and the greater part of Megara was improving the occasion. The process of grinding the wheat I did not see, but that of baking was visible at every front door (outside, of course), the oven consisting of a large clay retort, first heated to the proper temperature by a fire of sticks inside. These processes, I imagine, have undergone little change since the Homeric period. The Megareans of to-day, however, are to be accounted a happy people as compared with their predecessors, since they enjoy the inestimable blessing of security. Their fields are not ravaged in wars with their sister cities as they were in the days of Thucydides and Xenophon, nor are their coasts swept by corsairs as they were in the Middle Ages. A writer who visited Megara in 1676 records that the inhabitants "stand in such great fear of the pirates that upon sight of every boat in the day-time, and but hearing their dogs bark in the night, they presently fall to packing up their few goods, which they hide as well as they can, and run away."

From Megara to Kalamoki the railway skirts the edges of a succession of cliffs overlooking the waters of the Bay of Egina. The carriage road does the same. Both together make a very good reproduction of the Cornice, but the Grecian highway is the more beautiful of the two by reason of the softness of the coloring of both land and water.

Arrived at Kalamoki station, we found one carriage in waiting for anybody who might wish to ride to Kalamoki village, a quarter of a mile distant. I had with me a polyglot dragoman whom I had taken into service at Constantinople. Our only fellow-passenger was a tall Montenegrin, gorgeously dressed and heavily armed, with whom my dragoman entered into conversation. The Montenegrin said that many of his countrymen were employed as laborers on the canal. He was going that way himself and would be happy to assist us. He led the way to the entrance of the canal. We had not gone more than a dozen steps before we were accosted by the engineer in charge, Mr. Mavrocordato, who spoke the dialect of London so perfectly that I at once took him for an Englishman. He explained to me that his mother was an Englishwoman. Mr. Mavrocordato put himself at my service, and politely offered to take me through the entire work. As this was what I had come for, the offer was gladly accepted.

Here we were at the entrance of one of the most stupendous works of the nineteenth century, or of any century. I looked upward and inward. The prism of the excavation is a little less than four miles long and perfectly straight. The ground rises rather abruptly at either end, and continues to rise gradually to a point about midway, where it is 260 feet above water level, i.e., 100 feet higher than Niagara Falls. The cut is to be carried twenty-two feet below water level, and the width at bottom is to be eighty-six feet. The slope of the bank is sixty degrees, the material, a calcareous tufa having the appearance of an indurated clay, being perfectly secure at that inclination, and not washing perceptibly by rain.

Engineers will understand what is implied by a cut of this magnitude, but laymen can appreciate it only by standing at the base of the excavation and looking upward. I did not get the full effect as it will be eventually, because there is still about sixty feet vertically to be taken out, but the impression one receives when passing through the canal in its

present state, and reflecting that this is all the work of man and not of the Cyclops, is quite overpowering.

Looking inward, that is, toward the western end, the canal seemed to be filled with fog, and I supposed that there must be a mist driving in from the Gulf of Corinth. But this appearance was due to the dust caused by the workmen who were digging down the sides of the prism, standing on a series of steps extending from bottom to top. There was a shower of earth falling along a space of half a mile near the centre of the cut. This material was disposed of by steam dredges which lifted the loose earth in buckets on an endless chain and deposited it in cars to be drawn by locomotives to the dumping-grounds. This is the widening process.

The deepening process is quite different. For the latter a trench is first sunk, wide enough and long enough to receive a train of cars. At the end of the trench inward a tunnel is excavated to receive the train. From the top of the tunnel to the surface of the superincumbent ground, where the laborers stand, may be twenty or twenty-five feet vertically. Then shafts are sunk at regular intervals down to the tunnel, along the line of the railway track, and the earth is shovelled into these openings and finds its way with the least amount of manual labor into the cars. The openings gradually assume a funnel shape like mill hoppers, extending the full width of the prism, and accordingly a person desiring to traverse the canal must skirt the perimeter of these hoppers at the risk of depositing his mortal clay along with that of the Corinthian isthmus in the cars below. Experience had made Mr. Mavrocordato an adept in this kind of spiral exercise. Nor did he seem to be at all disturbed by the blasting operations that were going on both overhead and under foot. My own nerves were somewhat shaken. My Turkish dragoman was the first to retire, which he did on a plea of sore eyes and affliction thereunto from the dust. With some help from the shovellers, I surmounted eight of these funnels, all that were then in operation, and soon found myself on the Corinthian side of the cut. I knew that returning would be as tedious as go o'er, and so I found it, but there was no mishap and no great fatigue in either direction.

The material taken out, as I said, is a calcareous tufa, but is not of uniform color. It is firm enough *in situ* to require blasting, but the blasts are of low power, merely loosening, not shattering the material. In one place only a wall of true limestone is encountered, a part of the backbone of Greece, but here it is only a few feet in thickness. Probably the material is of the kind that an engineer would choose for such a work if he could have his choice, as it is not really refractory, and yet has no tendency to slide.

The present Corinth Canal—there was an old one begun by the Emperor Nero, A. D. 67, on exactly the same line—was initiated by a French company in 1882, the Comptoir d'Escompte being its financial agent. When the latter failed in consequence of the great copper speculation, the work on the canal stopped for want of funds. After an interval of two years it passed into the hands of a Greek company which has found the means for completing it. Twelve hundred men are now employed upon it. These are Armenians, Italians, and Montenegrins. The wages paid is equal to sixty cents per day of our money. I saw them taking their mid-day meal. It consisted only of bread, water, and a few olives. Mr. Mavrocordato tells me that the canal will be



finished within three years, and that it will admit the largest merchant ships now in use in the Mediterranean and will enable any two of them to pass at any point. Being a sea-level canal, it can be operated at the lowest cost.

HORACE WHITE.

#### AMERICA IN ITALIAN LIBRARIES.

VENICE, May, 1891.

I HAVE never failed in the Italian libraries of a hearty welcome as an American librarian, and have been made to stand more than once in rendered courtesies as the representative of what the American people have contributed by administrative methods to the science which it is becoming the fashion to term bibliothecal. It has been gratifying to see how closely American usages have been watched, and how every new development has been studied with a disposition to adopt, perhaps too readily, methods which have sprung out of a condition unbonded by tradition, and which do not always find the most rapid assimilation to conditions not yet emancipated from centuries of sloth—or what to the American librarian seems like sloth. I found the other day, in looking over some plans which had been prepared for a prospective new building of the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence (which is to occupy a site in the regenerated area of the mid-town, where the Ghetto till recently still preserved the flavor and odor of the past), that some of our most recent constructions had contributed ideas as to the disposition of rooms in the administrative parts of the building. When all these technical matters had been seen and talked over, the librarian would say, "Now come to-morrow and look over our old maps."

It is a surprising wealth of sea charts and world maps, representing the growing cosmographical notions which preceded and followed the era of Columbus, which these Italian libraries possess. I have long been familiar with their different geographical types, for with all their numbers—and there must be at least five hundred aggregated in these Italian libraries—they run into distinct groups, characterized both by new acquisitions of knowledge and by personal interpretations of scant data, so that school and individual among the draughtsmen are readily marked as a rule, though there are some puzzling and anomalous exceptions which put the critical functions to task. As specimens of these maps have come to me at home in published or drawn facsimile, and have been accompanied by conjectures as to their date and authorship, I have had previous views to approve or question. I well remember the delight with which, a few years ago, I had the opportunity of subjecting a *portolano* of the sixteenth century to a virgin scrutiny. A dealer in Leipzig had sent to an American collector a beautifully executed little sea atlas on parchment, which was submitted to me to ascertain its authority and date. It was the first time I had seen one of these atlases in America, and very likely it is the only one in the country to-day. I had little difficulty in ascribing it to Battista Agnese, and in placing it not far from the middle of the sixteenth century. I knew Agnese's work from some colored facsimiles and from a photographic reproduction of one of his sea atlases, which Ongania here in Venice had published some years before. The searcher in these Italian libraries confronts the work of Agnese in great profusion. I should judge that he found with navigators, and with those interested in the geographical developments of those days, a better market than the publishers

of engraved charts secured with their rapider reproductions.

There may yet be in private hands some of these fifteenth and sixteenth-century atlases which have not come to the attention of scholars, and Nordenskiöld, within these last dozen years, in wandering over Europe and ransacking the shops of the lesser as well as the greater towns, has succeeded in discovering two or three early maps which have confirmed doubtful and established new points in the progress of geographical knowledge, from the time when the dangers of the Atlantic were first tempted. I remember a note which some years ago I got from this Swedish scholar—for it will be remembered he was a professor before he was a navigator—when he had stumbled in an old shop in Warsaw upon an old map which carried back the cartographical history of Greenland (and thus of America) to the fourteenth century. I experienced a sympathetic delight in his communication of the fact. I found the other day in Florence that he was still at work on the subject, and when my eye lighted upon a delineation of Greenland singularly like that of the Warsaw map, it was no surprise to learn that Nordenskiöld had been ahead of me, and that a photographer in the town had recently taken a negative of the map and sent it to Stockholm. It struck the eye at the same time of Prof. Willard Fiske, who was with me, as containing, in an island neighboring to Greenland, a very early mapping of Iceland, which was necessary for his marvellous Icelandic library, and a second negative was ordered.

There are two of the Old World maps which mark important stages in the development of cosmographical knowledge before the fifteenth century, with which I was perfectly familiar from drawings, but of which I was eager to see the originals. One of these is the curious map, showing how England had been responsive to the tidings which travellers had brought from the East, which hangs on a wall of a side aisle in the Cathedral at Hereford, and last summer I made a pilgrimage there to see it. I confess to some annoyance as the good verger, unlocking the doors which concealed it, began to drone his story, which had gone into one ear and out of the other of so many chance tourists. He did not fail to remark that my senses wandered from the course along which he directed them, and I am afraid I left him with an opinion of his visitor's unaccountable indifference. The other of these old maps I saw yesterday in one of the halls of the Doge's palace. This is the famous map of Fra Mauro, embodying, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the results of the Portuguese explorations in the Atlantic, which led the way to the voyage of Columbus. It brings them down to a period when Prince Henry the Navigator had done his work, and Columbus was but a mere lad about the docks in Genoa or rambling through the alleys of Savona. This map, as it is shown at present to the traveller, has been taken from the Marciana, and is placed near the middle of the floor in one of the Palazzo halls which is given to geographical monuments. It stands upright under glass in a large frame, with the north near the floor, so that the legends are conveniently read, for it will be remembered that it was well on in the progress of modern cartographical science before the north became invariably the top of the map. I was surprised at the remarkable clearness and freshness of the lines and the color, and there is little of it that one need puzzle over in deciphering. It is much clearer than the photographs, though I found at Naya's, the photographer under the

arcade in the neighboring piazza of St. Mark, two sizes of a photograph, one of the original size in four sheets, and the other a reduction to one sheet, which was sufficiently clear to be satisfactory in most studies of it. It is the larger size which Ongania has included in his series of reproductions of about fifteen of these old maps, under the editing of a distinguished German student in this department, Prof. Theodor Fischer of Kiel.

The walls of the hall where this Mauro map stands are covered with painting on the plaster of cartographical delineations of different parts of the globe. I find no statement in the books of the date of them, but I should say they were executed not much, if at all, before 1600. Rather obscurely placed in one corner, and the smallest, I think, of them all, is a sketch of the coast of North America from Labrador to Florida, giving the Great Lakes as far as Huron, and including Erie, which was so long left out in the early configurations, since the watercourses that connect the Ottawa and the Georgian Bay for a considerable period diverted the westward explorers from the directer course by the Niagara. I should not place this map earlier than the others, and the purpose of it seemed to be to illustrate the claim to North America which England, under Elizabeth, not far from that time, was basing on the right which she had acquired through the Venetians, John and Sebastian Cabot. This seemed to be the purpose of one inscription on a scroll near a long-boarded and be-gowned figure which I suppose stood for Cabot. It was drawn beneath the map.

The habit of decorating a hall or gallery in these old Italian palaces with such maps seems not to have been unusual; but it was at rather a late stage of discovery that the habit came in, and here, as well as in similar maps in a corridor at the Vatican and in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence—where they are made to cover the doors of cabinets around a large hall—the student finds little that increases his knowledge as distinct from what he could get from the engraved maps of the period.

Besides what I have already indicated, the hall in Venice contained some Arab and Chinese maps of the sixteenth century, which showed how closely, for the American coasts at least, they had studied the best European sources, though it is possible that they may have been aided by independent knowledge. This is a point to which the student of the comparative cartography of the sixteenth century needs to give further study, for I do not think that all has been made yet that can be out of these Oriental maps, which are not unknown in other European countries, for I looked at some in the Bodleian and at the British Museum.

Of the two large globes which one sees in the photographs of the Hall of the Great Council in the palace of the Doges, one is terrestrial; but it has suffered from age, and is in parts undecipherable. I made out enough, however, to place it too late for much original interest. It offered the huge Californian island which is characteristic of much of the sixteenth-century hydrography of the Pacific regions of America.

The enumeration of the early maps and atlases preserved in the Italian libraries makes a good-sized octavo volume, as published a few years ago on the occasion of the assembling of the Geographical Congress in one of the Italian cities. It is a useful guide to the searcher for these relics, and I found an advantage in keeping it at hand as I looked at such objects in the Laurentian and National Libraries at Florence. One day when I went to the latter

library, the attentive keeper of the manuscripts had got together and assorted the library's wealth of these old maps. They made formidable piles on the tables, for they had in the main come from the old Palatine Library, where it was a fashion to mount these drawings on hinged boards, so that they folded up like screens and made a considerable bulk. At the Biblioteca Laurenziana the loose maps were generally rolled with a thin silk shield following the convolutions. I found among these last a "Carta nautica circa 1524," which deserves more study than I could give it at the time. It will, I conjecture, throw some light on the cartographical history of the Bay of Fundy. It showed the Papal line of demarcation, as modified by the Treaty of Tordesillas, much as it is given in many of the official maps of about that period. A *portolano* of Agnese dated "xii. Feb. MDXLIII." is almost identical, in numbers, variety, and character of the maps, with one which is now in the Carter-Brown library at Providence. Another large map, marked "Salvator Oliva fecit in civitate Marsiliæ anno domini 1620," though the work of a cartographer of recognized authority in his day, shows significantly how the student of these early maps needs to be unceasingly wary, and to make due allowance for the slowness with which geographical knowledge sometimes travelled, or perhaps for the national prejudice which rejected the reports of rival nations. Oliva's knowledge of the coast line of the present United States was a half century at least behind his times.

The development which has been made in the cartographical history of the New World in the interval since Dr. Kohl contributed so much to a knowledge of it, has been so marked that when the United States Coast Survey printed a few years ago an account which Kohl had prepared for the Survey with the knowledge of thirty years before, a grievous wrong was done to a careful and conscientious student, who was well aware before he died that his labors were those of a pioneer, and his results but tentative. Some of the most crucial productions of the geographical studies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have been brought to light since Kohl's day. The great collections of Santarem, Kunstmann, and Jomard now need constantly to be supplemented by later discoveries of sources, particularly as regards the New World. I could but think of this when, the other day, I stood in the Piazza di Spagna at Rome. There one looks on the pillar which Pio Nono erected to commemorate his promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and one at first wonders why this column was set up in the centre of that quarter of Rome given to the occupancy of strangers so largely Protestant; but he understands the reason when he looks beyond and his eye falls upon the College of the Propaganda. The student rarely fails to remember how much he owes to the missions of the Catholic Church for the preservation of cartographical monuments, and how barren the field would be but for the devoted labors with rude instruments of the wandering fathers of the different orders along the ocean, lake, and river sides of the American continent. I referred in my last letter to the help which the map of Hieronymus Verrazzano had been in rectifying the over-hasty views of Murphy and Bancroft respecting the voyage of another Verrazzano along our Eastern coast in the early years of the sixteenth century. This cardinal map is still preserved in the archives of the Propaganda.

I was glad to find Mrs. Nuttall at work on the two Mexican manuscripts which are preserved in the Laurentian library. Signor Biagi, the librarian, had kindly told me of their possessing a manuscript of Sahagun, the priest who has preserved for us one of the most valued accounts of the Spanish Conquest of the Mexicans and of the Mexican people; and as I found Mrs. Nuttall in the library, she kindly pointed out to me the important features which her study of the manuscript had revealed to her. The printed text which scholars have is, it seems, a condensed one, in Spanish only, and omits some of the descriptive chapters which are found in the present copy. This Laurentian manuscript has, moreover, a Mexican text, in parallel columns, and it is curiously illustrated. It has much additional value from sundry marginal annotations in Sahagun's own hand, attested by his signature. Mrs. Nuttall, who has collated the text word by word with that ordinarily known to scholars, tells me that its value as an improvement on what its editors have heretofore evoked is considerable, and she cannot find that any one of them has used it. The result of her examination, when published, will be a gain to scholars in a field wherein Mrs. Nuttall has already put them under obligations.

Another manuscript which this lady has found in the Laurentian is likely to be of quite as striking importance, as the students of Aztec archaeology will of themselves judge when the facsimile reproduction which she is having made is completed. It is a textual and graphic elucidation of the Mexican divinities, and I am not aware that it has ever before been brought to the attention of scholars.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

## Correspondence.

### THE PENNSYLVANIA BALLOT-REFORM LAW.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: While the Pennsylvania Ballot-Reform Bill, now a law, since its approval by Gov. Pattison on the 19th inst., is a very deformed and unsatisfactory measure as compared with what it was originally, it hardly merits the wholesale condemnation which it received in your issue of the 18th. The Executive Committee of the Ballot-Reform Association could not take the responsibility of advising the approval of the bill, nor could they avoid pointing out its defects in a published letter to the Governor, but they are, I believe, satisfied that he did well to sign it. Defective as it is, it is too good to suit the Quay element in the Legislature. As reported by the Senate Election Committee, it was in far worse shape than now, the merest travesty of ballot reform, and it was only by hard, persistent fighting that Mr. Baker of Delaware County succeeded in getting it into its present shape and in having it passed. The Senate, where the Republican majority was almost a unit against the bill, at first voted not to accept the conference report, hoping thereby to induce the House to do likewise; but, failing in this, they reluctantly decided to reconsider their action. A bill which was so strenuously opposed by the Quay element must have had some good left in it.

You are probably correct in saying that it is inferior to all the other ballot-reform laws except New York's, but I should say that it was much better than this latter both as to facility of independent nominations and the form of the ballot, though far from perfect in either respect. The form of the ballot, while grossly

unfair to independent candidates, is but little worse than that in use in all the other States which have adopted the system of grouping the names of candidates by parties (a system at variance with the Australian principle, and which only needs to be thoroughly understood in order to be heartily condemned), and, if I am not mistaken, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island are the only ones which have not done so.

A great deal will depend upon the care with which the blank forms, cards of instruction, etc., are drafted, and there is every reason to suppose that this will be properly done. Upon the whole, therefore, though the reform we hoped for has not been obtained in all its completeness, it has gained a foothold, and one may confidently expect that the same popular feeling which has advanced the cause of ballot-reform so far will in the future carry it on all the way.

CHARLES C. BINNEY.

PHILADELPHIA, June 23, 1891.

### PRESIDENT WALKER ON THE ECONOMISTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you kindly give me space for the ungrateful task of trying to prove that it is not I but you who are in error in the matter of your article, "The Economists and the Public," on the 25th inst.?

You have understood me to reproach the economists with the unreal character of their assumptions, and to object to the cultivation of political economy as a pure science. Referring to me, you say, "Nothing ever taught by the economists is so unreal as the principles of physical science taught in the institution over which he presides."

Now, without inquiring whether there is not a good deal of exaggeration in the last sentence, let me say that I have never questioned the advantage of building up a system of political economy upon a comparatively few, simple assumptions. In my "Political Economy" of 1883, I said:

"Political economy should begin with the Ricardian method. A few simple assumptions being made, the processes of the production, exchange, and distribution of wealth should be traced out and be brought together into a complete system, which may be called pure political economy, or arbitrary political economy, or *a priori* political economy, or, by the name of its greatest teacher, Ricardian political economy. Such a scheme should constitute the skeleton of all economical reasoning; but upon this ghostly frame-work should be imposed the flesh and blood of an actual, vital political economy, which takes account of men and societies as they are, with all their sympathies, antipathies, and antipathies, with every organ developed as in life, every nerve of motion or of sensibility in full play."

My quarrel with political economists is not that their premises are partial and incomplete, but that having, to their own satisfaction, deduced certain principles from such premises, they have gone straight down into the forum or the press, and have there set up those principles as absolutely true and as conclusive upon the public in present practical issues, without admitting that those principles are subject to qualifications in their application to actual affairs, and without confessing the doubtful origin of some of their high-sounding "laws." This is exactly what the leading English economists have habitually done; and in this they have been closely followed by some of their American disciples.

It is true, as you say, that in a school of technology we teach abstract principles. We not only do this laboriously and long, but we train



our students in dealing with such principles, so that they may become capable of sustained reasoning upon any series of assumptions. But it is equally true that we teach the young inquirer never for a moment to think of applying these principles in practice without the most careful reference to the conditions of the case, the materials to be used, the resistance to be encountered, the contingencies that may beset the work; and after all this has been considered, we teach him to introduce a "factor of safety," as well as to make allowance for uncertain elements of expense. And it is precisely for not doing the corresponding thing in their department that we blame the economists.

The comparison which you have instituted between the qualifications requiring to be made in practice of the physical laws taught in the Institute of Technology, and the qualifications requiring to be made in practice of the economic principles taught by the college professor, affords an excellent opportunity to illustrate the point in dispute between the two schools of political economy. The physicist, indeed, teaches that water tends to a level; but he also instructs his pupils that, if water be placed in a very small tube, it may be sustained for an indefinite time at about any height above the general level, the attraction, more properly, cohesion, of the walls of the tube being greater than the attraction exerted upon it by the earth below. Now, here is an instance of a physical law which admits of an exception that requires to be distinctly expressed to every student to whom the law itself is taught; for, although the column of water in the tube be small, the principle of capillary attraction is not. The whole earth, in its relations to life, would be revolutionized did this principle fail to operate. To teach that water tends to a level, without adding the exception which exists through capillary attraction, would be unworthy of any physicist.

Now for a corresponding principle and its necessary qualification in economics. Money tends to flow from the place where it has the lower value to the place where it has the higher value. In popular phrase, money, too, seeks its level. This is so generally true and is so important, the movement required takes place so promptly and proceeds so strongly as long as the difference in value subsists, that the statement just made is entitled to be considered one of the chief "laws" of political economy. Yet there is a distinct exception to this. The quantity concerned may be so small as to fall under a kind of monetary law of capillary attraction. A "nickel" containing, say, one cent's worth of metal, passes easily in exchange for five cents, partly, and indeed mainly, because the number of pieces is judiciously restricted, but, in part, also, because the value involved is not sufficient to make it worth taking any pains. Even if these coins were issued in some excess over the real demand for them, they might continue to pass for a long time without obstruction or discount, simply "because the amount concerned would not be worth much thought or effort."

Just here was the error in Mr. Wells's remark about a silver three-cent piece sufficing to do all the money-work of a great people, which, in my Washington address, I commented upon with what you deem undue severity. Mr. Wells made a mistake in that case for want of properly qualifying an economic principle. So small a quantity of silver as that he spoke of would come under the law of capillary attraction. The downward tendency would be neutralized by the influence of the walls of the tube. Hence the statement of Mr.

Wells was scientifically inaccurate, while it was politically inexpedient, being one of those remarks which are peculiarly exasperating to opponents. It would have answered Mr. Wells's real purpose just as well had he said that a comparatively small quantity of the precious metals would circulate as money just as freely and effectually as a larger amount.

Two points more, if I may be indulged. (1.) You seem disposed to excuse the economists for not further qualifying their more general propositions, and not guarding their readers against mistaken applications of them, by the plea of insufficient opportunity. Twice in your article it is said that people generally have "time" only for brief and unqualified statements of economic doctrines. Permit me, as a teacher of many years' experience, to suggest that, while it is easier for the professor to prepare himself to teach political economy by the method of abstract reasoning, the easier way of learning for the pupil is that which proceeds by concrete illustrations and by the discussion of actual "cases." The additional time which one might expect would be consumed in this way of studying political economy is really not lost, on account of the greater attention and interest of the pupil. (2.) I think you mistake the relation which exists between pupil and teacher, in schools like this, to which you have referred. You say that "among the essentials of the relation of scholar and teacher are that the scholar shall feel that he does not know and that the teacher does know." Excuse me if I say that, while this is doubtless a correct characterization, so far as the classical colleges are concerned, the most successful teachers of science are those who put themselves in the attitude of studying with their pupils, and of finding out, with them, the objects of their common search. Indeed, it is said that Socrates himself used to employ this method. So far as political economy is concerned, I do not think anything is to be gained, in the way either of discovering the truth or of commanding popular respect, by the teacher pretending to know anything he does not, or even concealing the fact that he is still, on this or on that point, in uncertainty, perhaps in perplexity. It is a sad truth that the airs of the political economist no longer impress the public mind, and that the writer on money, or wages, or taxation, must rely for the effect he would produce upon the force and reasonableness of what he writes.

FRANCIS A. WALKER.

MASS. INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, June 24, 1891.

[We can only say in answer to this that we read these charges against "the political economists," as we have read the original ones in the address which we criticise, with wonder as to who these political economists are whom Gen. Walker is showing up, and whom he holds responsible for "the wild and vague schemes of human regeneration upon an economic basis" which, he says, are now afloat. In spite of considerable and long acquaintance with the literature of "pure political economy," "arbitrary political economy," and "Ricardian political economy," we confess we have not the least idea who it is that he has in mind, except Mr. Wells, who used that illustration of the three-cent piece. Mr. Wells is the only one he mentions, but surely that three-cent illustration cannot have done all this mischief, by adding the brains of "the benevolent clergymen and

ecstatic ladies and prophets and disciples of the industrial millennium," who are producing the existing economic confusion. If Gen. Walker would give us a few references to the works of those who have, for instance, "opposed wholesome measures of reform on the grounds of laissez faire alone"; who have "greeted with contumely every suggestion of an exception to the rule of individualism from whatever source proceeding"; who have "declared that inconvertible notes, however freely and fully circulated, were not and could not become money"; who have asserted that "money measured value as the yard-stick measures length and the bushel capacity," without regard to "such things as the [effect of] supply and demand" on the money; who have "declined to give any consideration to the possible mischief to be wrought by contraction"; who have "refused to concede any importance to the possible effects of demonetization" of silver.—If, we say, he would put us on the track of these authors of mischief, he would greatly add to the value of his address. The charges are grave, and the culprits should be made to stand up.—ED. NATION.]

#### THE ONLY NATIONAL POWER.

##### TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: M. Carnot, the President of the French Republic, in pursuance of his established policy, has been making a tour in the south of France. There, as everywhere, he has been received with respect and even enthusiasm, and there is no doubt that these visits have done much to establish the republic and substitute the prestige of the Presidential office for that of royalty. In his response to an address of the President of the Council-General at Tarbes, M. Carnot used this expression:

"Whatever your opinions, I welcome you with the same sympathy, for I represent here France as a whole."

About the same time, President Harrison was making a much more extended trip in this country, with the same result of welcome and enthusiasm for the office, without regard to party. In view of this the London Economist makes the following remarks:

"The population of the Union has so enormously increased, and personal influence is so localized—each populous State being a sort of kingdom in itself—that the only man audible to the whole nation is the President. A President's message, or even his address, spoken as Mr. Harrison has recently been speaking in the South, is read and weighed by every voter in the States, and that cannot be said of any other person in the American territory. He, and he alone, if an able man, could create rapidly a fresh opinion or secure for a new and broad proposal an attentive hearing. That is an enormous power, and it is one which, as Mr. Cleveland's action about protection shows, can be so exerted as to affect every fortune in the land. A position of that kind in a land without hereditary social eminence is a dazzling one, and no one can wonder that the contest for it shakes the Union."

Here is a tremendous power growing up in both countries for good or evil, and the question is, How can it be best guided and controlled, if at all, in the former direction? Few persons who passed through the period of our civil war can fail to remember, with gratitude and emotion, how important a part was played by Lincoln's personal character and influence. And yet these were far less important in a

contest in which the country was sharply divided into two sections almost unanimous in their opposition to each other, than they would be where the lines of division were horizontal instead of perpendicular. Suppose violent dissensions, coming to blows, were to arise in one region upon questions which more or less affected all the rest, such as labor agitation, protective tariff, inter-State commerce, taxation, race jealousies, or even a mere division upon party names like Democrat and Republican. Think what a difference it would make whether the man at the head of all, and whom all looked up to, was a commonplace intriguer, owing his success to the manipulation of local caucuses, and his support to those whom he had bound by offices, or lucrative jobs, or other political and social favors, or was a broad and high-minded man of honor, ambitious, indeed, of success, but more ambitious of a pure and lofty reputation with the country, with posterity, and with the world—in short, a Washington or a Lincoln.

In selecting a man, like a grain of sand from the millions on the seashore, to hold such a high position above his fellows, there are two ways open. One is that which we pursue now of building up, like coral insects, from below, sending delegates practically selected by local party managers to conventions; choosing by these party delegates in conventions a candidate negatively available from a party point of view—that is, a lay figure upon which can be hung a label with "Democrat" or "Republican," of such a kind that nobody can paint it out; then, when the people have been worked up to select the least of two evils, making their choice a "mayor of the palace," a puppet registering the decrees of powerful cliques in Congress, having little or no positive power either as to legislation or administration, limited to a negative upon the schemes of Congress, or (if he has the superb audacity to have an opinion of his own) able only to fire it off, like Cleveland's tariff message, as a shot in the air; and then, when four or eight years have passed without definite achievements of any kind, resuming the process *de novo*.

The other method requires some appeal to the imagination. Under it Congress would be made an arena for testing the abilities and character and integrity of public men. Under the guidance of high executive officials, the public business would be prepared, taken up, and debated publicly at the opening of the session. Members, instead of being lost in the committee-rooms, would appear as individuals before their constituents and the country, the strongest working to the top and creating a public opinion which would sooner or later dictate to the nominating conventions. The mode of obtaining this result is set forth in detail in the unanimous report of a committee of eight to the United States Senate on February 4, 1881.

With this line of thought a spectre presents itself in the person of President Balmaceda of Chili, and the question follows: "Is that what we are coming to?" A prompt negative meets it as far as appreciable time is concerned. The suffrage is limited in Chili, the population poor and ignorant, and exercising no such control as that of this country. Yet of the two methods above indicated, the first has unquestionably the most decided tendency to produce such a result. Balmaceda certainly could not have done what he has unless through a band of followers bound to him by ties of private interest as against the mass of the people, just as Louis Napoleon did in France in 1851. If his whole public life, in every action and almost every thought, had

been kept before an intelligent people of voters by a free press and the public criticism of Congress, it would have been easy for that body to arouse a tempest of opposition before which even he must have quailed. The danger to this country is from Presidents made by rings of selfish and scheming politicians. It must be averted, if it is averted, by Presidents made by the voice of the nation, and compelled to turn frankly to the nation for confidence and support.

G. B.

BOSTON, June 20, 1891.

## ESPRIT D'ESCALIER.

## TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have noticed some discussion in your journal of the phrase "*esprit d'escalier*." I find in *L'Illustration* for June 13 the following passage, which may have some interest for your readers and some bearing on the question discussed. It occurs in an article entitled "*Amis et Ennemis*," and signed by Marie Anne de Bovet:

"J'en ai été toute décontenancée; aussi est-ce seulement en descendant l'escalier que j'ai trouvé ce qu'il y avait à répondre. Cette mésaventure arrive quelquefois: on appelle cela '*Pesprit du palier*'!"

Is this the true French form of the phrase?

Yours truly,

KENYON COX.

NEW YORK, June 20, 1891.

[Littré does not notice it among his proverbs under *palier*. Between the landing and the stairs there seems little to choose.—ED. NATION.]

## Notes.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT Co. have in press a Supplement to Alibone's 'Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors,' in two volumes, containing more than 37,000 author titles and more than 93,000 subject titles, by John Foster Kirk; a 'Life of Benjamin Harris Brewster,' by E. C. Savidge, M.D.; 'The Swiss Republic,' by Boyd Winchester, late United States Minister at Bern; 'Harmony of Ancient History,' by Malcolm Macdonald; and 'Atlantis Arisen: or, Talks of a Tourist about Oregon and Washington,' by Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor.

'Practical Morals,' two essays which divided the prize of \$1,000 offered by the American Secular Union for the best work calculated to aid teachers in imparting moral instruction on a scientific basis, will make a book to be published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. The authors are (of 'The Laws of Daily Conduct') Nicholas P. Gilman and (of 'Character Building') Edward P. Jackson, both already known as writers.

The humorous serial lately running in *Harper's Weekly*, with illustrations by A. B. Frost, 'Farming,' by R. K. Munkittrick; and two novels, 'St. Katherine's' by the Tower, by Walter Besant, and 'My Danish Sweetheart,' by W. Clark Russell, are announced for publication by Harper & Bros.

Macmillan & Co. will bring out a new illustrated volume, by Joseph Pennell, on the River Thames, 'The Stream of Pleasure,' in two editions, one limited on large paper; and 'The Filibusters of the Spanish Main,' by James Jeffrey Roche.

Ginn & Co., Boston, have nearly ready 'The Gate to Cæsar,' by Wm. C. Collar, Principal of the Roxbury Latin School. It is a novel editing of the 'Gallic War.'

Salmon's 'School Grammar' (Longmans) possessed such preëminent merit as to cause its speedy adoption in many of our schools as soon as it made its appearance on this side of the water. Naturally the illustrative sentences were chosen in some cases with reference to British eyes, and in this particular the work was susceptible of adaptation to American use. A revision has accordingly taken place, and the publishers have just brought out a fresh edition, with a commendatory introduction by Prof. E. A. Allen of the University of Missouri. The Grammar deserves to supersede all others with which we are acquainted.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. send us the twelfth edition of Sweetser's 'New England: A Handbook for Travellers,' a work without a peer, save the others by the same hand on the White Mountains and the Maritime Provinces.

Last year we chronicled Mr. William Martin Conway's 'Climbers' Guide to the Central Pennine Alps,' a little volume for the pocket, giving the most minute directions for independent explorers in that part of Switzerland. He follows it up this year with a 'Climbers' Guide to the Eastern Pennine Alps,' likewise published in London by Unwin. The edition is but 400 (that magic society number with us), and it appears that everything conspires to increase the body of "Centrists"—the mountaineers who start from the great centres of fashion—at the expense of the "Excentrists," on whom, Mr. Conway insists, "the future welfare of mountaineering so largely depends." His scheme for treating all the divisions of the Alpine chain in a series of little books like these guides was rejected by the Alpine Club, which has preferred to reprint Ball's Guide. Mr. Conway consequently locks up in his drawer his prepared 'Climbers' Guide to the Lepontine and Ticino Alps,' and bids good-bye to guide-book writing—and to Zermatt. It is much to be regretted that his disinterested labors have met with such a chilling reception.

E. Schuberth & Co. have reproduced in book form two lectures by Dr. F. L. Ritter on "Music in its Relation to Intellectual Life" and "Romanticism in Music." The second of these will be found the more readable, discussing as it does the principal composers of the Romantic School, and pointing out the qualities which distinguish them from older schools.

Lee & Shepard, Boston, have done well to compile a second series of 'Speeches, Lectures, and Letters by Wendell Phillips.' This collection really antedates the former one, beginning with Mr. Phillips's maiden speech in the anti-slavery cause at Lynn, a few months before his burst of eloquence at the Lovejoy meeting in Faneuil Hall. The volume ends with personal obituary tributes to Theodore Parker, Francis Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, the Garri-sons, and Harriet Martineau, his last public utterance. Here also is the famous lecture on the "Lost Arts," which Mr. Phillips omitted from the series of 1863, perhaps because there was still a call for it from the lyceums; the oration on Daniel O'Connell on the Liberator's hundredth birth anniversary; the address at Harvard College at the centennial anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, "The Scholar in a Republic"; and a great variety of discourses on capital punishment, woman's rights, labor, the Chinese, temperance, etc. In short, while the cream of Mr. Phillips's oratory is to be looked for in his own collection, this fresh and for the most part later gleaming is indispensable to a just estimate of the thinker and agitator. Its value is enhanced by the slender prospect of any adequate Life of Phillips being written. A copy of Vinton's oil painting serves as a portrait



frontispiece, and suggests a better likeness than the "process" gives back.

No. 42 of the Bibliographical Contributions of the Library of Harvard University deals with the "Orators and Poets of Phi Beta Kappa, Alpha of Massachusetts," and is due to the labor of Mr. William Hopkins Tillinghast, Assistant Librarian, in connection with a new edition of the catalogue of the Harvard chapter. The catalogue of 1855 proves to have been untrustworthy, but a complete record seems now impossible. The list is a very distinguished one, and while the chapter has not been independent of foreign talent, the list has a marked Massachusetts and Harvard complexion. George Bancroft's poem (1823) is not discoverable in his volume of verse published in the same year. Edward Everett, Caleb Cushing, Emerson, Holmes, and Hedge were poets and orators by turns.

Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, have prepared on their own responsibility a supplement to Durrie's 'Index to American Genealogies' issued in 1886. It makes a thin volume of sixty-one pages in double columns, and includes, among other works of reference, the three volumes of 'American Ancestry' published by the same firm a few years ago.

From the Historical Printing Club, Brooklyn, we receive two brochures, 'The Press of North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century,' by Stephen B. Weeks, and 'Wills of George Washington and his Immediate Ancestors,' edited by Worthington C. Ford. The North Carolina press began its productions in the middle of the century, and these were not more appetizing than laws and journals except for an occasional political tract or sermon or text-book. With the Washington wills our readers are, thanks to Mr. M. D. Conway, already partly familiar. Mr. Ford has added a number of cognate letters from Washington, with the later wills of Bushrod and John Augustine Washington, and John Custis; and has provided a convenient index of proper names. The editions in both cases are limited.

The latest volume to appear of the excellent but slightly unequal series of "Les Grands Écrivains Français" is the Comte d'Haussonville's brief biography of Mme. de La Fayette (Paris: Hachette; New York: F. W. Christern). M. d'Haussonville's narrative is not quite as flowing as that of certain of his predecessors in this series, but his subject is as interesting as any, and his task has been conscientiously performed. Certain letters to Ménage are now for the first time printed, and the date of the death of M. de La Fayette is also for the first time declared, revealing that Mme. de La Fayette was not a widow when her long intimacy with La Rochefoucauld began. Her chief title to remembrance now, nearly two hundred years after her death, is not that she was the friend of La Rochefoucauld or the intimate of Mme. de Sévigné, but that she was the author of the 'Princesse de Clèves,' one of the masterpieces of French fiction, popular to this day, and holding its own beside the later studies of sensibility by M. Paul Bourget and other nineteenth-century analysts. M. d'Haussonville, in discussing its charms, likens it in turn to the 'Crime d'Amour' of M. Bourget and to the 'Supplée d'une Femme' of MM. Dumas and G. G. G. G.

The first fascicolo of the reproduction of Leonardo da Vinci's 'Codice Atlantico,' preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, has left the press. This disorderly compilation of a fraction of Leonardo's MSS. which escaped the neglect of his heirs was the work of a sculptor, Leone Leoni. It contains more

than 1,700 designs of inventions, etc., and consists of 462 folios. The forty heliotype plates of the first instalment of the reproduction represent the first fourteen folios. The plan of editing is to copy punctiliously Leonardo's notes as written, and to subjoin a modern reading for the common understanding. This codex has suffered many vicissitudes: it was an object of envy to Charles I. of England, who offered a large sum for it in vain, and it was among the spoils of the French in 1796, who restored it to the Ambrosian Library with reluctance after nineteen years' possession. Twelve other codices of Leonardo, carried off at the same time, the French held on to.

A characteristic straining of the law to the restriction of the freedom of the press is the recent decision of the German Reichsgericht, or Supreme Court of the Empire, making proof-readers as well as editors legally responsible and liable to prosecution for the contents of newspapers. The Court argues that the proof-reader, in performing the duties of his office, must come to a knowledge of thoughts, expressions, and statements which any given article contains, and by permitting them to pass renders himself an accessory agent for the dissemination of the same, and thus becomes *particeps criminis*. As the functions of the proof-reader are not at all editorial or critical, and as he has no right to erase a single word because the idea it expresses is displeasing to him, it seems the height of injustice and absurdity to punish him for what he cannot possibly prevent and is no more responsible for than the type-setter.

In an academical dissertation entitled "Die Ursitze der Indogermanen und das westindogermanische Zahlensystem," Johannes Schmidt of Berlin endeavors to show that the Germanic numerals are the hybrid product of a crossing of the decimal and duodecimal systems, which took place in prehistoric times. From this mixture of Aryan decimalism and Babylonian duodecimalism (the latter having an astronomical origin) he infers that the primitive seat of the Indogermanic race must have been in Asia and near ancient Babylon. As this conclusion is opposed to the most recent researches on this subject, scholars will be inclined to approach it with caution.

The study of medicine at Oxford has made great progress and attracted a steadily increasing number of students since the passing of the Medical Statutes in 1856. This increased demand for the facilities at hand has just been met by the appropriation of £7,000 which has been made by the University for the better and more permanent accommodation of students in anatomy. The training thus given may not become too one-sided and special, because every student of medicine, before entering on the scientific and preparatory part of his professional studies, must, in addition to whatever other examinations may be required for the degree of B. A., have satisfied the examiners in the Natural Science School in physics, chemistry, animal morphology, and botany. Nor is the work done at Oxford in danger of curtailing the necessary practical schooling to be had only in large hospitals, for it relates exclusively to the scientific or preparatory part of the course, and leads up to a first or theoretical examination in human anatomy, physiology, organic chemistry, and pharmacology. As a rule, the student of medicine leaves the University as soon as he has passed this examination, and proceeds with his professional studies elsewhere.

One of the features of the summer courses

at Harvard which we mentioned last week, is the presentation of a series of twenty-seven lectures and conferences by various instructors on the methods of instruction in the several departments of the summer schools. The list includes Shaler on geology, Sargent on physical training, Davis on meteorology and physical geography, Bartlett on German, Sanderson on French, Chaplin on applied science, Bergen and Sabine on physics, Torrey on chemistry, Ganong on botany, Royce on the teacher's profession, Manly and Lathrop on English, Lincoln on physiology, and Byerly on mathematics. The lectures will be given late in the afternoon, when all members of the various summer courses will be free to attend them. As most of the summer students are teachers, the conferences promise to be of much practical value in spreading the methods of instruction adopted at Harvard.

The June Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society opens with an account of an excursion among the mountains of Daghestan, including an ascent of the peak Shaibuz, famed in the 'Arabian Nights' as the home of the fabled roc, whose wings, when spread, obscured the sun. Although the country has been under the nominal control of Russia for over sixty years, the Turkish language is still universally spoken by all, Georgians, Tartars, Armenians, and Lezgians. This paper is followed by a description of two journeys made by Mr. A. E. Pratt to the western frontier of China for the purpose of making natural-history collections. This was very successfully accomplished, about 700 species of plants having been brought to Kew from the mountains near Ta-tien-lu, notwithstanding the superstition of the natives, who attributed the unusual severity of the weather to the fact that a stranger was living in the forest, and compelled him to leave. On the sacred mountain Omei Mr. Pratt "more than once witnessed the curious phenomena known as the glory of Buddha. Standing on the edge of the precipice and looking down into the sea of mist which generally fills the valley below, I saw, about 150 feet beneath me, the golden disk, surrounded by rainbow-colored rings of light, which is the chief marvel of Mount Omei and the clearest evidence of its sanctity. Every year many pilgrims commit suicide by throwing themselves down this cliff."

Arminius Vaméry's suggestive paper on "British Civilization and Influence in Asia" is the leading article in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for June. After dwelling upon what has been accomplished in India, he expresses his astonishment at the English "indifference to, and want of information concerning, matters connected with the East." He also maintains that to the cold reserve and haughtiness which the British trader, soldier, and civil officer too frequently exhibit in their intercourse with Asiatics must be ascribed "the unmistakable decrease of British influence in those parts of Asia where your countrymen have to face the competition of other more pliant and less rigid representatives of the West, and where British manufacturers, in spite of their unquestionable superiority, have lost more than one market." Mr. E. G. Ravenstein discusses the history of the cartography of the Lake Region of Central Africa, in which he scouts the idea advanced by Mr. Stanley that the Ruwenzori range is Ptolemy's Mountains of the Moon. Accompanying the paper are reproductions of Ptolemy's and other early maps of this part of Africa. The closing article, on the definitions of geographical names, is by K. Ganzenmüller. It will prove suggestive and helpful to all teachers of geography.

—The July *Atlantic* is indebted to Prof. Lanciani for a paper which shows what light has been thrown upon early Christian history in Rome by recent excavations. He writes particularly of the Acilian family, and uses the instance to illustrate the spread of the new religion among the patricians, and incidentally he touches upon the interesting tradition of the friendship of Seneca and St. Paul, a subject which will be fully treated hereafter. The inference that primitive Christianity was not so exclusively a possession of the poor and humble as has been thought, is the most important result of these researches. Mr. W. J. Stillman continues the subject of Rome in an article which divides interest between the prehistoric days of the city and its present attractions as a place of refuge and sentiment. He predicts that the disfiguration of old Rome by the Parisian style of the "new quarter" will pass with as little injury to the "Eternal City" as the old Gothic and Bourbon devastations; and meanwhile he assures the tourist that the common fear of the Roman climate is a superstition. Under the enigmatic title of the "Story of a Long Inheritance," Prof. M. Davis follows the "whirl" of a tornado through its causes till he derives it from the "whirl" of the original nebula. Miss Reppier contributes the most readable paper in an amusing account of her researches in the desert of the literature of the Unknown Public. She explored in particular the penny fiction of the English railway news-stalls, and discovered that it was very dull and tame; but therein she found her account, inasmuch as occasion was thus given her for some very pertinent criticism of those who think they know what the Unknown Public wants, and write on the subject to their own confusion. Prof. Shaler makes an attack on the examination system in colleges with great vigor.

—The *Century* easily excels in variety of interest while maintaining its serial features and furnishing a copious supply of short summer fiction; but it offers few papers for special comment because either of their novelty or significance. The student of municipal government will find an excellent account of how Paris is organized and administered, with details of its budget and some useful comparisons with our own ways and means; and those interested in Indian affairs will do well to consider how Indian warfare looks from the army point of view as set forth in a paper upon the campaigns of Gen. Miles, also attractive as mere history. Provençal bull-fights, the geography of the moon, and the always welcome cuts after the Italian masters by Cole, with Mr. Stillman's commentary, illustrate the unusual range and contrasts of the matter and also of the illustrative art which fill the pages. A curious historical relic is given in a eulogy of Lincoln from the long-silent lips of Horace Greeley. This speech was written about 1868, and is strangely reminiscent of Greeley's strong character, with that living-voice quality in the phrase and mode of thinking which vitalizes the text only to remind us how completely the great journalist has passed away. The praise he gives Lincoln is measured, but it is sincere and full, and follows the direction that criticism of Lincoln has since taken; it is, from Greeley's point of view, singularly just. He holds to his belief that Lincoln did not realize the imminence of the war, nor its severity until after Bull Run, and he criticises his policy in some particulars; he emphasizes the view that events controlled him in the Presidency, and that he was not of exceptional ability by nature. The compari-

son of the eulogy with that by Carl Schurz will bring out the influence of the last quarter century in defining Lincoln's fame.

—*Scribner's* has evolved so strongly an individualized type that the character of each number can be anticipated with perhaps more certainty than is the case with its rivals, and in the present issue it is needful only to mention the ocean-steamship serial, the two sporting articles on the Izard and the Black Seabass, and the end-paper, a criticism of Landor, or more accurately of the critics of Landor, in which Mr. Clymer pleads for the literature of the coterie, as if any one meditated disturbing the Brahmins of taste in their contemplative mental habits. The world is as careless of them as of the Epicurean gods, and if they enjoy themselves with him who covertly boasted that he "neither lived nor died with the multitude," no one will trouble the fine seclusion of their lofty pleasures; indeed, some of us who are not out of contact with the "multitude," may occasionally take a half-holiday in the trim gardens without jostling any of the unworldly philosophers who there abide. The sacrosanct ideal of taste, however, though not without justification in certain relations, has, like most mortal sanctities, a wonderful affinity with humbug; as soon as comparative criticism begins, its idols usually fall down. The opening of the Japanese Parliament offers material for an entertaining sketch by Prof. Wigmore; and Denmark, Hayti, and the Mexican border also come within the geographical survey of this number, and there is the usual fiction. If there be anything for which the habitual reader is unprepared, it is where the frontispiece exposes to the pitying eye what seems a lost explorer, insufficiently clothed, sitting on a glacier. Can this be Horace's "Faunus"? And those poor women, without even the decency of a shiver upon them in the white waste of Greenland's icy mountains—are they our old friends the nymphs?

—*Harper's* is distinguished by the friendly comment of Mr. Curtis upon Dr. Holmes, as a poet and as a writer of prose, in which he defines the veteran author's most prominent traits, and expresses the popular appreciation of the Autocrat and the Phi Beta Kappa poet very nearly as it exists in the mind of the public, who read the terse sayings and smooth verses with gusto now as much as formerly. It is doubtless true that no author of our own day, with an intellectual snap, tells more on the average mind. Mr. Curtis, in the course of his paper, gives an entertaining and sympathetic account of the taste of the town of Boston in the epoch of Dana and Pierpont, and does something more than justice to the episode of N. P. Willis in its literary annals; but the sketch is characteristic in its light touch and slightly veiled humor. In the remainder of the number we find nothing so noticeable as Mr. Brander Matthews's "Briticisms and Americanisms," in which he gives examples of the development of English in its colonial homes, and rejects the authority of London in the use of words. On some of his examples more might be said than he ventures, and in his manner of address there is a touch of irritability, a disposition to lecture our cousins a little, that show how imperfect still is our self-possession in the use of our mother-tongue as we learned it on this side. The bulk of the magazine is made up of serial papers.

—The advocates of the higher education of women may claim for their views the weight of a century more of existence than is usually

accredited to them. In a brief monograph, reprinted from the April and May numbers of the *Journal of Education*, Karl Bülbring reviews the relation to more modern thought of the works of Mary Astell, a brilliant woman of the seventeenth century, whose name has fallen into undeserved oblivion. In her spirited protest against the "plaything" or "upper servant" conception of her sex, Mary Astell preceded the supposed protagonist of the rights of women, Mary Wollstonecraft, by a hundred years. It is interesting to be able to decipher in a 'Serious Proposal to the Ladies' (of the year 1694) the outlines of the first scheme of a college for women. Mrs. Astell sets herself to prove, in her 'Essay in Defense of the Female Sex,' the revolutionary doctrine that Providence and nature intend woman to be a companion and equal to man. She does it, however, in conciliatory fashion: "A Man ought no more to value himself upon being Wiser than a Woman, if he owes his Advantage to a better Education and greater Means of Information, than he ought to boast of his Courage, for beating a Man when his Hands were bound." To Mrs. Astell justly belongs the distinction of "the first expression of the opinion that lasting happiness in marriage is best secured by intellectual intercourse." This is the burden of her 'Reflections upon Marriage.' It is an indication both of her own robustness of mind and of the self-evidence of her main conclusions that she is able to draw them from premises which are commonly believed to lead only to contrary ones. That her books are so scarce as to be practically inaccessible is to be regretted. They deserve to be known by those who prefer to reconcile the departures of the present with the traditions of the past, as well as by those to whom the history of the progress of the sex is in itself a matter of interest.

—Most of the older States now have, or have had, State geological surveys. Specialists in other departments have been attached to many of these surveys, and the reports upon geology and upon various branches of natural history have been numerous and valuable. It has remained, however, for the State of Illinois to organize upon a permanent basis a State Laboratory of Natural History of much wider scope than the so-called "State Geological Surveys," and to connect it closely with the public educational system. The Laboratory may be said to be the direct offspring of the State Natural History Society, which originated in 1862 and terminated its useful career in 1871, when its museum was transferred to the State. The collections were then formed into the State Museum of Natural History. In 1877, the Museum proper was transferred to Springfield, and the Laboratory was left in the State Normal University at Normal, to enter upon its present functions under the able directorship of Prof. S. A. Forbes. Its chief objects, in the language of its Director, are "the prosecution and aid of original work on the natural history of the State (preference being given to subjects having special educational or economical value), the publication of the results of such work for the information of the people, the training and instruction of teachers of botany and zoology for the public schools, and the supply of the necessary scientific material to these schools, to the State Museum, and to the State educational institutions. It affords a place to which any specialist or scientific student may come with the assurance that he will find everything necessary for special study or original



work on the natural history of Illinois, to which any teacher may come for preparation to teach these subjects intelligently, and upon which the officers of any school may draw for material to illustrate the scientific work of their school." We have received from the Laboratory examples of its publications, which are numerous and of a high order, and attest the amount and quality of the work done by, or under the directorship of, Prof. Forbes. A number of the bulletins are technical in character, being descriptions of new species, or are lists of the plants and animals living within the State; but a glance at the titles shows that Prof. Forbes has interpreted the law providing for the institution as chiefly designed to foster investigations having an economic bearing. Accordingly, a large number of the reports are upon subjects that have a practical value to the farmer or that relate to the food supply. We believe this example will not be lost on other States.

#### JAMES'S PSYCHOLOGY.—I.

*The Principles of Psychology.* By William James, Professor of Psychology in Harvard University. [American Science Series, Advanced Course.] Henry Holt & Co. 1890. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xii+689, and vi+704.

UPON this vast work no definitive judgment can be passed for a long time; yet it is probably safe to say that it is the most important contribution that has been made to the subject for many years. Certainly it is one of the most weighty productions of American thought. The directness and sharpness with which we shall state some objections to it must be understood as a tribute of respect.

Beginning with the most external and insignificant characters, we cannot much admire it as a piece of bookmaking; for it misses the unity of an essay, and almost that of a connected series of essays, while not attaining the completeness of a thorough treatise. It is a large assortment of somewhat heterogeneous articles loosely tied up in one bag, with tendencies towards sprawling.

With an extraordinarily racy and forcible style, Prof. James is continually wrestling words and phrases of exact import to unauthorized and unsuitable uses. He indulges himself with idiosyncrasies of diction and tricks of language such as usually spring up in households of great talent. To illustrate what we mean, we will open one of the volumes at random, and we come upon this: "A statement *ad hominem* meant as part of a reduction to the absurd." Now a *reductio ad absurdum* is a species of demonstration, and as such can contain no *argumentum ad hominem*, which is merely something a man is obliged by his personal interests to admit. On the next page, we read: "This dynamic (we had almost written dynamitic) way of representing knowledge." On the next page: "They talk as if, with this miraculous tying or 'relating,' the Ego's duties were done." It is the same with the technical terms of psychology. Speaking of certain theories, our author says they "carry us back to times when the soul as vehicle of consciousness was not discriminated, as it now is, from the vital principle presiding over the formation of the body." How can anybody write so who knows the technical meaning of *vehicle*? On the same page occurs this phrase, "If unextended, it is absurd to speak of its having space relations at all," which sounds like a general attack on the geometry of points.

Prof. James's thought is highly original, or at least novel; but it is originality of the destructive kind. To prove that we do not know what it has been generally supposed that we did know, that given premises do not justify the conclusions which all other thinkers hold they do justify, is his peculiar function. For this reason the book should have been preceded by an introduction discussing the strange positions in logic upon which all its arguments turn. Even when new theories are proposed, they are based on similar negative or sceptical considerations, and the one thing upon which Prof. James seems to pin his faith is the general incomprehensibility of things. He clings as passionately to that as the old lady of the anecdote did to her total depravity. Of course, he is materialistic to the core—that is to say, in a methodical sense, but not religiously, since he does not deny a separable soul nor a future life; for materialism is that form of philosophy which may safely be relied upon to leave the universe as incomprehensible as it finds it. It is possible that Prof. James would protest against this characterization of his cast of mind. Brought up under the guidance of an eloquent apostle of a form of Swedborgianism, which is materialism driven deep and clinched on the inside, and educated to the materialistic profession, it can only be by great natural breadth of mind that he can know what materialism is, by having experienced some thoughts that are not materialistic. He inclines towards Cartesian dualism, which is of the true strain of the incomprehensibles and modern materialism's own mother. There is no form of idealism with which he will condescend to argue. Even evolutionism, which has idealistic affinities, seems to be held for suspect. It is his *milieu* to subject to severe investigation any doctrine whatever which smells of intelligibility.

The keynote of this is struck in the preface, in these words:

"I have kept close to the point of view of natural science throughout the book. Every natural science assumes certain data uncritically, and declines to challenge the elements between which its own 'laws' obtain, and from which its deductions are carried on. Psychology, the science of finite individual minds, assumes as its data (1) *thoughts and feelings*, and (2) *a physical world* in time and space with which they coexist and which (3) *they know*. Of course these data themselves are discussable; but the discussion of them (as of other elements) is called metaphysics, and falls outside the province of this book. This book, assuming that thoughts and feelings exist, and are the vehicles of knowledge, thereupon contends that Psychology, when she has ascertained the empirical correlation of the various sorts of thought and feeling with definite conditions of the brain, can go no farther—can go no farther, that is, as a natural science. If she goes farther, she becomes metaphysical. All attempts to explain our phenomenally given thoughts as products of deeper-lying entities (whether the latter be named 'Soul,' 'Transcendental Ego,' 'Ideas,' or 'Elementary Units of Consciousness') are metaphysical. This book consequently rejects both the associationist and the spiritualist theories; and in this strictly positivistic point of view consists the only feature of it for which I feel tempted to claim originality."

This is certainly well put—considered as prestidigitation. But when we remember that a natural science is not a person, and consequently does not "decline" to do anything, the argument evaporates. It is only the students of the science who can "decline," and they are not handed together to repress any species of inquiry. Each investigator does what in him lies; and declines to do a thousand things most pertinent to the subject. To call a branch of an inquiry "metaphysical" is merely a mode of obfuscation, which signifies

nothing but the author's personal distaste for that part of his subject. It does not in the least prove that considerations of that sort can throw no light on the questions he has to consider. Indeed, we suspect it might be difficult to show in any way that any two branches of knowledge should be allowed to throw no light on one another. Far less can calling one question scientific and another metaphysical warrant Prof. James in "consequently rejecting" certain conclusions, against which he has nothing better to object. Nor is it in the least true that physicists confine themselves to such a "strictly positivistic point of view." Students of heat are not deterred by the impossibility of directly observing molecules from considering and accepting the kinetical theory; students of light do not brand speculations on the luminiferous ether as metaphysical; and the substantiality of matter itself is called in question in the vortex theory, which is nevertheless considered as perfectly germane to physics. All these are "attempts to explain phenomenally given elements as products of deeper-lying entities." In fact, this phrase describes, as well as loose language can, the general character of scientific hypotheses.

Remark, too, that it is not merely nor chiefly the "soul" and the "transcendental ego," for which incomprehensibles he has some tenderness, that Prof. James proposes to banish from psychology, but especially *ideas* which their adherents maintain are direct data of consciousness. In short, not only does he propose, by the simple expedient of declaring certain inquiries extra-psychological, to reverse the conclusions of the science upon many important points, but also by the same negative means to decide upon the character of its data. Indeed, when we come to examine the book, we find it is precisely this which is the main use the author makes of his new principle. The notion that the natural sciences accept their data *uncritically* we hold to be a serious mistake. It is true, scientific men do not subject their observations to the kind of criticism practised by the high-flying philosophers, because they do not believe that method of criticism sound. If they really believed in idealism, they would bring it to bear upon physics as much as possible. But in fact they find it a wordy doctrine, not susceptible of any scientific applications. When, however, a physicist has to investigate, say, such a subject as the scintillation of the stars, the first thing he does is to subject the phenomena to rigid criticism to find whether these phenomena are objective or subjective, whether they are in the light itself, or arise in the eye, or in original principles of mental action, or in idiosyncrasies of the imagination, etc. The principle of the uncritical acceptance of data, to which Prof. James clings, practically amounts to a claim to a new kind of liberty of thought, which would make a complete rupture with accepted methods of psychology and of science in general. The truth of this is seen in the chief application that has been made of the new method, in the author's theory of space-perception. And into the enterprise of thus revolutionizing scientific method he enters with a light heart, without any exhaustive scrutiny of his new logic in its generality, relying only on the resources of the moment. He distinctly discourages a separate study of the method. "No rules can be laid down in advance. Comparative observations, to be definite, must usually be made to test some preëxisting hypothesis; and the only thing then is to use as much sagacity as you possess, and to be as candid as you can."

## PERRY'S GREEK LITERATURE.

*A History of Greek Literature.* By Thomas Sergeant Perry. Henry Holt & Co. 1890.

In this large and handsome volume Mr. Perry has chosen a good model, and his publishers have done everything to assist him. They have given him "ample room and verge," fair paper, wide margins; they have permitted him numerous illustrations, which are generally interesting, well chosen, and well executed. In these respects the work is an improvement upon its model, Albert Wolff's 'Pantheon des Classischen Alterthums.' An octavo of nearly 900 pages might have been much more handily divided into two volumes; some of the full-page landscapes might have been spared without loss; the restoration of the theatre of Dionysus at Athens (p. 227) belongs apparently to the age of Phædrus, and presents some features that are distinctively Roman. In general, however, the pictures are from authentic sources, and are a tasteful and harmonious embellishment of the literature they illustrate.

Another excellent feature which Mr. Perry's plan shares with his German model is the abundance which it offers of extracts from the more important authors. The usefulness of these extracts even for the superficial reader might have been increased by noting the title and portion of the work from which they were taken; in many cases we have no indication whatever of this or of the English translator. The translations are usually well chosen, and are sometimes new; in particular, Mr. Louis Dyer's versions from Euripides are as spirited and scholarly as might have been expected. Some specimens of hexameters, like Dr. Hawtrey's or Mr. Matthew Arnold's, would have illustrated to the unlearned reader the movement of Homeric verse, which is here almost exclusively represented by the Spenserian stanza and by Chapman's vigorous but involved expression and occasionally rugged numbers.

When we come to the history proper, we find less to say that is favorable. Mr. Perry has read much about Greek literature and thought, but has failed to learn what the Greeks are supposed to teach first and foremost—the sense of measure and proportion, the lesson of clearness and directness. It is not easy to convey an impression of the meanderings, the rambling excursions which our author permits himself, because we should be obliged to cite whole pages of irrelevant discussion. Some of this is introduced by way of comparison and illustration; a large part simply sets forth loosely the author's own philosophy, his notions, his moralizings—in fine, his recollections. The result is a great waste of space which might have been more economically devoted to the business in hand. The brief sketch of Theophrastus affords a miniature of this method and its results. The reader gets from it no clear idea of the nature of the work called 'The Characters,' which might have been given in a very few words. He gets no information as to the interesting personal relations which subsisted between Aristotle and his disciple; none as to the fact that two important botanical works, the 'Researches about Plants' and 'Principles of Vegetable Life,' have been preserved and handed down to us. Yet Prof. Jebb, in his primer, has found room for nearly all of this in a dozen lines. On the other hand, the reader is treated to certain reflections, neither very important nor very pertinent, which fill a quarter of the whole space allotted to the successor of Aristotle. This is a larger allowance than Mr. Perry generally claims for his philosophizing—a tithe is often sufficient for

him; but a tithe out of 800 pp. is a large proportion. It is a larger allowance than Thucydides receives, or Plato, or Aristotle, and it is made to an author who is not yet distinguished as a classic or as a philosopher.

No careful writer or thinker ever managed his pronouns with Mr. Perry's daring and fine disdain of context. On p. 619 we read: "It is to the credit of Greece that, when everything else failed them, they held true to things of the intellect." On the preceding page we encounter this luminous comparison: "Just as a medical student does not need to dissect everybody to know human anatomy, so we may find in Isocrates the specimen of the majority of his citizens, just as Demosthenes is the vivid example of the impotent opposition"; or again, "The orator urges Philip to undertake his old hobby." This carelessness of expression corresponds often with vagueness of information and thought, and is accompanied by a self-confident, jaunty philosophy and an unflinching didactic vein. Mr. Perry has himself "undertaken" several hobbies, and he is constantly careering on one or another of them through these pages. In the first place, he has borrowed M. Taine's hobby—a theory of which a recent careful writer has remarked that it probably was never strictly true of the literary development of any country except Egypt. Again he is carried away by the scientific hobby—the conviction that literature as well as everything else not only can be reduced to law, but has been already summarized in some perfectly simple and satisfactory formulæ, which the expert can apply with the greatest ease in the world. The expert is the student of comparative literature, in a large and comprehensive way, who can detect at a glance the resemblance between remotely separated epochs and authors, and can generalize upon its laws and causes. Mr. Perry feels himself equal to this task, and so he rides the hobby of comparison with great freedom and hardihood.

This wandering method and these prepossessions often lead to very unsatisfactory results. It is impossible for the ordinary reader to gather from the confused and somewhat contradictory notice of Aristotle the reason why he has been called "Master of those who know," not only by Dante, but also in some of the most recent appreciations of his scientific labors. It was not, perhaps, necessary in a treatise on literature to touch on these labors at all; but, since this was done, some attempt might have been made to convey an idea of the difficulties that beset an investigator who undertook more than the encyclopedic task of Herbert Spencer, in a region as benighted in respect of physical science as China or Thibet; some idea might have been conveyed "of the enormous range of Aristotle's work within the four corners of biology, his amazing instincts of scientific method, and his immense power of grasping generalizations." The strong expressions we have quoted are not the language of a literary critic—they are the words of Dr. Romanes, who certainly in the matter of biology has some right to speak with authority, and who bases his estimate on facts which he specifies. It is interesting to contrast this language, as well as the testimony of Lewes and of Darwin himself, with the condescending tone of Mr. Perry, with his vague depreciation and misapprehensions.

Another instance of the way in which Mr. Perry's philosophy colors his presentation of the facts may be seen in his account of what was accomplished by Wolf for the Homeric question. Mr. Perry cannot away with the word "genius." From time to time he turns

aside to remind us all that there is no such thing; and he does this in that abrupt and casual manner which Mr. Matthew Arnold calls a lack of urbanity, a violence to the reader. It would be hard to gather from page 21 exactly what conception Mr. Perry had of Wolf's contention. In three different passages on that page it is implied that his opponents maintained the 'Iliad' to be "the work of a creative genius," and that somehow Wolf maintained the reverse of this proposition. It is needless to say that the question of genius was not in dispute at all. Wolf never thought of impugning the genius shown in the 'Iliad'; he lived half a century too early for the notion to enter his head. It is true he conceived of the 'Iliad' as the work of several poets, and, in so far, as a growth; but his express words are that "the greater part of the songs must be assigned to Homer, the poet who first took up the theme," and he speaks of "the divine force and breath of natural genius" which the original Homeric poetry displays. But Mr. Perry is probably here, as often elsewhere in his book, belaboring a man of straw, a creature of his own fancy. However, once Mr. Perry has entered his protest, he praises Homer as ordinary people do who still retain "the now vanishing idea of genius as an inspirer of literary composition." Indeed, he seems to lose the calm spirit of scientific criticism. "Homer first and almost alone," he says, "has seen nature"; and again, in a torrent of surprising metaphor, "The astounding brilliancy of the Greeks is here, as it were, in the bud, and we find it fascinated by the spectacle of the world in its newness before literature had left its trail of associations over the whole face of nature."

To this sample of Mr. Perry's critical quality we may append some apparently slight but suggestive slips. Deinarches, and Iotros (for Ister), may be due to the printer, "Kointos Smurnaios, or Quintus Smyrnaeus, as he is commonly called," rouses deep misgiving in the mind of the scholar; it is just as possible to speak of "Kaligolas, commonly called Caligula." "Orpheus is a pure invention, as mythical as his Sanskrit compeer, the ideal poet Ribhu." "Ribhu" is, of course, meant for Ribhu; but Ribhu was not "the ideal poet," he was a semi-divine artisan, inventor, and priest—a Daedalus rather than a poet; and it is not accurate to call either Ribhu or Orpheus "a pure invention." A good deal of misinformation on the duties of the Choregos is suggested in a few lines on page 231. Why, moreover, in a popular treatise, raise the mooted question of the origin of the Greek hexameter? Who knows positively "that the Greeks already possessed, in common with the rest of the Aryan family, a rudimentary measure out of which they developed this favorite form"? This theory has been strongly controverted of late by M. Kawczynski, in his elaborate treatise on rhythms, as is also the derivation of poetical rhythm from music, of which Mr. Perry says the origin is "not far to seek," meaning by this that we are to find it, with Darwin, in the inarticulate musical sounds of earliest man when influenced by love or some strong emotion. Most people would think this was seeking very far. Our point, however, is simply this, that in a popular history of literature such questions and digressions are a chase after will-o'-the-wisps.

*Memoir of Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt:* 1820-1851. By H. S. Holland and W. S. Rockstro. Scribners. 2 vols., pp. 458 and 506.

PERHAPS no other profession contains so large a proportion of bunglers and charlatans as is



to be found among teachers of singing. Hundreds of promising voices are ruined every year by incorrect training of the vocal organs, and the result is a painful scarcity of good singers, and the consequent slow growth of popular interest in good music. Even Jenny Lind, who, taking everything into consideration, may perhaps safely be pronounced the greatest vocal artist that ever lived, had a narrow escape from coming early to grief, owing to an incorrect training of her voice. She was as precocious as some of the great composers, and she used to relate that her earliest distinct memory of childhood was how, one day, she crept to the piano and strummed out the fanfare that she had heard the military buglers play in the street. She was discovered by her grandmother, who, when her mother returned, exclaimed: "Mark my words, that child will bring you help." She herself wrote that "as a child I sang with every step I took, and with every jump my feet made"; and the audience for which she sang at that time was her pet cat.

"Her favorite seat with her cat," her eldest son writes, "was in the window of the steward's rooms, which look out on the lively street leading up to the Church of St. Jacobs; and there she sat and sang to it; and the people passing in the street used to hear and wonder, and amongst others the maid of a Mlle. Lundberg, a dancer at the Royal Opera-house; and the maid told her mistress that she had never heard such beautiful singing as this little girl sang to her cat. Mlle. Lundberg thereupon found out who she was, and sent to ask her mother, who seems to have been in Stockholm at the time, to bring her to sing to her. And, when she heard her sing, she said, 'The child is a genius; you must have her educated for the stage.'"

Her mother and grandmother had a prejudice against the stage, but consented so far as to allow her to appear before Singing-Master Croelius, who took her to Count Puke, the head of the Royal Theatre. That settled the matter. The vocal gem, once discovered, could not be lost sight of again; and as Jenny's mother was very poor, she was educated at the expense of the State, which also paid for her board while she remained with her mother. At this time she was nine years old, and at seventeen she was playing as a regular actress at the Royal Theatre at a fixed salary. Her talent as an actress was indeed fully as remarkable at an early age as her vocal skill, and to this early dramatic training she owed much of her subsequent success as an opera-singer. It was the part of *Agathe* in the "Freischütz" that first showed her the true sphere of her talent. "I got up that morning one creature," she used to say, "and went to bed another creature. I had found my power." And she always celebrated the 7th of March as a second birthday.

Her fame as an opera-singer now grew apace rapidly, and her reputation soon became national. But she had an instinctive feeling that though all Sweden was singing her praise, she still had much to learn before she could consider herself a perfect artist. So she resolved to go to Paris, at that time the musical centre of the world; and a wise move it was, of which a much longer postponement would probably have frustrated all her future triumphs. Her voice had been over-fatigued by a provincial tour, and she had never known how to take proper care of it; the result being that when she sang before Signor Garcia, she broke down, and the eminent teacher had to tell her frankly, "It would be useless to teach you, mademoiselle; you have no voice left." This was a terrible blow, but Garcia advised her to rest completely for six weeks, and promised then to reconsider her case. She did so, was

subsequently accepted, and the result of the best voice in the world trained by the best teacher was the future Jenny Lind. But it was a narrow escape, for a few years—perhaps a few months—more of her unguided singing would have ruined her voice for ever.

This is not the place to enter into details regarding Signor Garcia's method of teaching his gifted pupil; but we earnestly recommend every student of vocal music to read this memoir, and to ponder especially chapter ii. of Book II. and chapter xi. of Book VIII., which contain more useful hints than a great many long treatises. They show, also, that Jenny Lind was willing to work patiently, and that in her case, as in that of so many others, genius was largely "an infinite capacity for taking pains." During her enforced idleness, while waiting for her voice to recover from its fatigue, she devoted her hours to learning Italian and French; and subsequently, when in Germany, she did the same with the language of that country, so that she finally could sing in these languages as well as in her native Swedish. And, unlike Patti, she was always most careful in pronouncing her text and not slighting shades of emotion in the poetry. While in Paris she also carefully studied the great actresses. The following brief note to Lindblad throws light on this, as also on her extreme modesty, which was real and not assumed:

"Shall I tell you my thoughts? The difference between Mlle. Rachel and myself is that she can be splendid when angry, but she is unsuited for tenderness. I am desperately ugly, and nasty too, when in anger; but I think I do better in tender parts. Of course, I do not compare myself with Rachel. Certainly not. She is immeasurably greater than I. Poor me!"

The reference to her own "ugliness" recalls what she wrote to the editor of a Swedish cyclopaedia regarding her appearance before the Stockholm operatic director at the age of nine, describing herself as "a small, ugly, broad-nosed, shy, *gauche*, undergrown girl." She won her successes in spite of a lack of personal beauty, for which the expressive play of her features amply atoned; and as for the awkwardness to which she refers, that was overcome by careful study in the class-room even before she left Stockholm, so that her biographers could write that "her perfect walk, her dignity of pose, her striking uprightness of attitude were characteristic of her to the very last."

The one thing to be regretted in Jenny Lind's career is that she won most of her triumphs in an inferior class of operas—the works of Bellini, Donizetti, Rossini, and Meyerbeer—as is illustrated by her two seasons in Vienna, 1846 and 1847, when she appeared in opera thirty-one times, all but one of which were in Bellini, Donizetti, and Meyerbeer operas. This, however, was not her own fault, but that of the audiences, which at that time preferred these flimsy operas to those of Weber, Gluck, Mozart, and Beethoven. She sang altogether, during eleven years, 677 times in 30 operas, including most of those then famous, except "Fidelio." Inasmuch as "the rich, sustained tones of the *soprano drammatico* were far more congenial to her voice than the rapid execution which usually characterizes the lighter class of soprano voices," there can be no doubt that she would have felt happier on the operatic stage, and would not have left it twenty years before the close of her career for the concert stage, had she lived to-day, when operatic audiences have a higher taste for real dramatic music. When she did appear in a Weber, or

Mozart, or Gluck opera, the effect was unrivalled, and she was also, what Patti could never aspire to be, a wonderful interpreter of the most poetic and melodious of vocal compositions—the German *Lieder*. On pages 380–391, vol. ii, are printed some letters by Clara Schumann, in which she states that Jenny Lind sang all of her husband's songs in the manner which she had pictured to herself as ideal, but in which she had never dreamed of hearing them sung. "Nothing escapes her, not even the softest harmonic change. I need scarcely mention that Robert is equally charmed with her; for a composer it is a special delight to hear his songs rendered as coming from the depths of his own heart. She left, and each time she left, I stayed behind in a state of intense excitement, her notes and words continuously quivering in my soul."

Nothing, indeed, is more noticeable in the records of Jenny Lind's life than the unqualified and enthusiastic approval bestowed on her by those supreme judges in music, the composers themselves. "But what remains for your friends to wish to say, for you whom heaven has so richly endowed?" wrote Meyerbeer. "It has given you that great and sympathetic voice which charms and moves all hearts; the fire of genius which pervades your singing and your acting." This composer even consulted Jenny Lind when writing his operas, over and over again (i, 221). Chopin wrote, after hearing her in London: "This Swede is indeed an original from head to foot. She does not show herself in the ordinary light, but in the magic rays of an *aurora borealis*. Her singing is infallibly pure and true; but, above all, I admire her piano passages, the charm of which is indescribable." But the most enthusiastic admirer among the composers was Mendelssohn, whose correspondence with the great singer fills up more than two chapters of this memoir, and who wrote: "She is as great an artist as ever lived; and the greatest I have ever known."

Enough has been quoted from this biography to show that it is a good thing. Indeed, the only fault that can be found with it is that it is too much of a good thing. The accounts of operatic triumphs in various cities could have been profitably reduced in number. There is a good index and a valuable twenty-four-page supplement, containing cadenzas and other passages used by Jenny Lind in her version of various famous songs.

The Memoirs close with the singer's retirement from the operatic stage, and therefore do not give an account of her marvellous doings in America under Barnum's management; but as there is already a volume covering that part of her career, the omission is pardonable. Special mention must be made, finally, of Mr. Rockstro's admirable remarks, in the seventh chapter of Book IV., on Weber's "Euryanthe."

*Excursions in Art and Letters.* By William Wetmore Story. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891.

MR. STORY'S new volume is practically a supplement to the "Conversations in a Studio," and is made up of five papers none of which is particularly novel or attractive. The first three are upon Michel Angelo, Phidias, and the Art of Casting in Plaster among the Ancient Greeks and Romans, and these are somewhat elaborate, and have the exterior look of learning. The discussion of Phidias and of Plaster-casting is controversial, and is directed to showing in the one that Phidias was not a worker in marble, and should have no part of the credit for the Elgin marbles and other

sculptures of the Athenian age in this material, but that he used ivory and gold, and was a kind of Cellini on a grand scale; and in the other case Mr. Story concludes that plaster-casting was not known to the ancients. The latter portion of the volume is occupied with a religious discussion supposed to take place as an imaginary conversation between the author and Marcus Aurelius, and also with a criticism of "Macbeth." The religious essay belongs to a stage of interest in the subject which among persons of education is so far past as to have become merely historical, and we can see no useful purpose it can serve in the present day, when its touch of Voltairian crudity removes it from our intellectual sympathy. The paper upon the character of *Macbeth* and his lady is more attractive, and engages a certain interest by presenting a paradoxical view; it is always open to a writer on Shakespeare to win attention by contradicting the accepted interpretation of the characters of the plays, and arguing in favor of the new conception with a plausibility which the nature of the subject permits, just as one can maintain that Judas was a martyr and Napoleon a myth. A similar value appertains to Mr. Story's reading of "Macbeth," though

we would not be understood to imply that there is anything of such artifice in his argument as is in the Judas and Napoleon cases. The volume as a whole is narrow in interest.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Austin, A. Narrative Poems. Macmillan & Co. \$1.75.  
Barrie, J. M. My Lady Nicotine. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. 25 cents.  
Blake, J. V. St. Solifer. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.  
Burnett, Frances H. Earlier Stories. 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.  
Cambridge, Miss A. The Three Miss Kings. D. Appleton & Co. 50 cents.  
Crane, W. Renaissance; A Book of Verse. Macmillan & Co. \$3.  
Church, A. J. The Greek Gulliver. London: Seeley & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 40 cents.  
Conway, W. M. Climbers' Guide to the Eastern Pennine Alps. London: T. Fisher Unwin.  
Davidson, R. T. Life of Archibald Campbell Tait. 2 vols. Macmillan & Co. \$12.  
Deighton, K. Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra. Macmillan & Co. 40 cents.  
Eleven Possible Cases. Short Stories. Cassell & Co. 50 cents.  
Ella. Philippa. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.  
Flaubert, G. Salammbô. Chicago: Chas. H. Sergel.  
Ford, W. C. The Writings of George Washington. Vol. X. G. P. Putnam's Sons.  
Ford, W. C. Wills of George Washington and his Immediate Ancestors. Brooklyn: Historical Printing Club. \$2.  
Frothingham, Rev. O. B. Recollections and Impressions, 1822-1890. G. P. Putnam's Sons.  
Garland, H. Main-Travelled Roads. Boston: Arena Publishing Co.  
Hamilton, E. J. The Modalist. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.40.  
Harland, H. Mea Culpa. John W. Lovell Co. \$1.25.

Headlam, J. W. Election by Lot at Athens. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. 75 cents.  
Hemstreet, W. Mind is Matter. Fowler & Wells Co. \$1.  
Hodgkin, T. Theodoric the Goth. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.  
Hornaday, W. T. Taxidermy and Zoological Collecting. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.  
Jerome, J. K. On the Stage—and Off. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.  
King, Capt. C. Captain Blake. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. \$1.25.  
Kitchin, W. C. Paoli. Robert Bonner's Sons.  
Koehler, S. R. Catalogue of the Engraved and Lithographed Work of John Cheney and Seth Wells Cheney. Boston: Lee & Shepard.  
L'Anson, M. The Vision of Misery Hill, and Other Poems. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.25.  
Leighton, Caroline C. Intimations of Eternal Life. Boston: Lee & Shepard.  
Life and Works of Horace Mann. 5 vols. Boston: Lee & Shepard.  
Linton, W. J. The English Republic. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.  
Lynch, L. L. Moins. Chicago: Laird, Lee & Co.  
Lyon, W. H. A Study of the Sects. Boston: Unitarian Sunday-School Society.  
Maartens, Maarten. An Old Maid's Love. Harper & Bros. 45 cents.  
Maurice, Col. F. War. Macmillan & Co. \$1.75.  
Maxwell, Sir W. S. Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses. London: John C. Nimmo.  
Maxwell, Sir W. S. The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V. London: John C. Nimmo.  
McLeod, Grace D. Stories of the Land of Evangeline. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. \$1.25.  
Mendelssohn, S. The Criminal Jurisprudence of the Ancient Hebrews. Baltimore: M. Curlander.  
Minto, W. Scott's Lady of the Lake. Macmillan & Co. 90 cents.  
Moule, Rev. A. E. New China and Old. London: Seeley & Co. \$2.50.  
New England: A Handbook for Travellers. 12th ed. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.  
Olliphant, T. L. K. The Old and Middle English. 2d ed. Macmillan & Co. \$2.  
Ross, A. Moulding & Moulden. G. W. Dillingham.

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